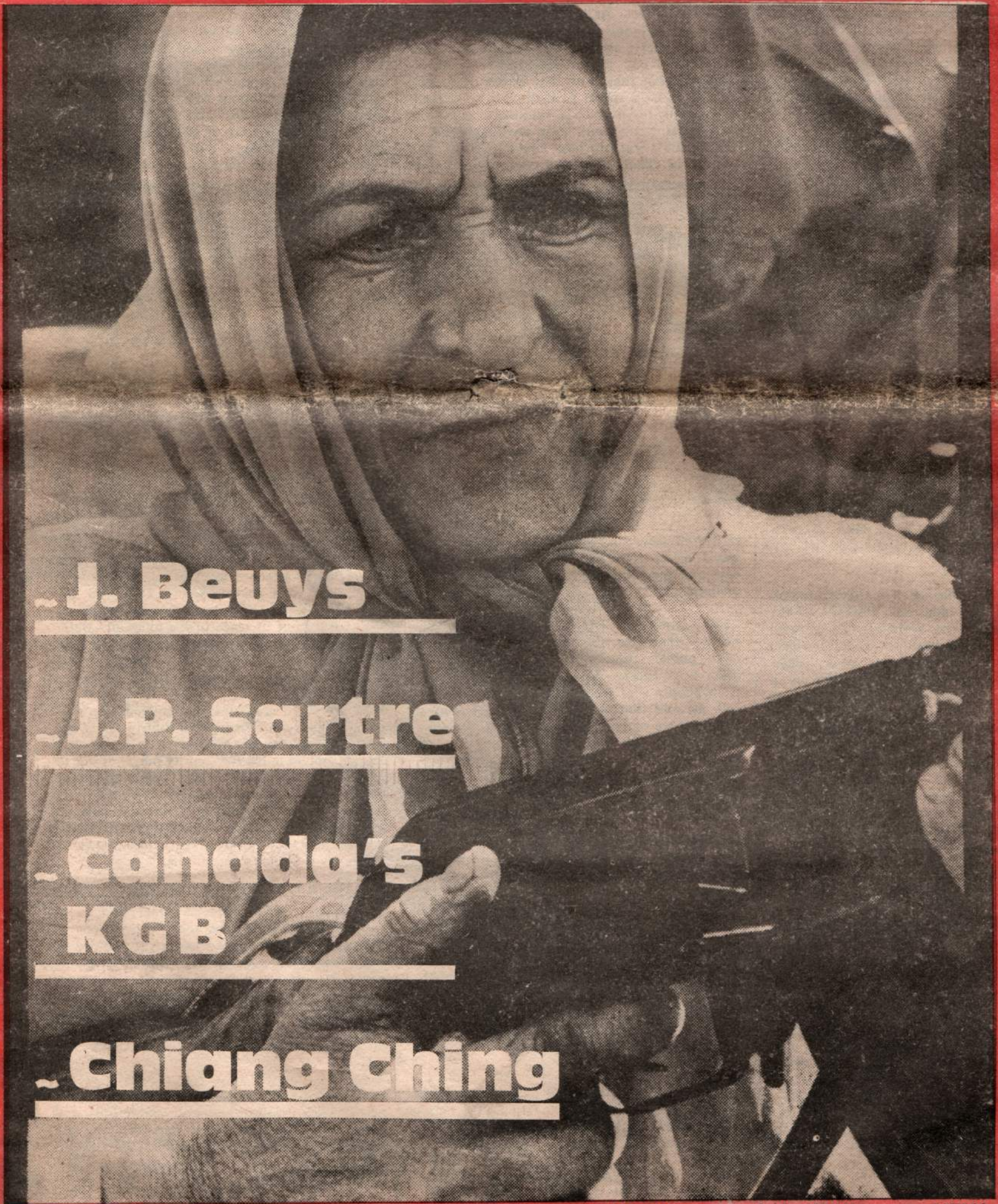


STRIKE

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J. Beuys

J.P. Sartre

**Canada's
KGB**

Chiang Ching

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BOOKS

WHEN WORKERS FIGHT

The Politics of Industrial Relations in the Progressive Era, 1898-1916 by Bruno Ramirez, Greenwood Press, 1978.

Bruno Ramirez is also known as one of the collective members of the radical review **ZEROWORK**. In his recent book **When Workers Fight**, Ramirez extends his thesis already outlined in a previous book on the formation of the mass worker in the United States, between 1898 and 1922, published by Feltrinelli in 1976.

The victory of the workers at the turn of the century is seen as the seminal force to build the basis for the workers' power in America, the reform ideology, and the immediate counterattack by capital to recompose the working class. The economic power in America, at the turn of the century, pushed its expansion until it resulted in the great depression. Concentration of capital, better exploitation of the labor force, and the extension of international markets were demanding a change in the industrial re-composition.

"One does not have to read Marx to realize the important role crisis played in the strengthening of capital's control over the working class, thus setting the stage for a new cycle of development". Apparent economic recession is an excellent situation for capital to reinforce itself at the expenses of the labor force, in fact accumulating the availability of cheap labor. It is described how the managerial class, in order to combat collective bargaining, opposed welfarism and the much more known Taylorism in order to subjugate and rationally exploit labor. Welfarism was then not used in a business fashion, but rather it was publicized as an humanitarian device to improve the work conditions of the labor class and not shown as an offensive device in the class struggle. From a managerial viewpoint, welfarism was directed towards a greater efficiency of labor. Welfarism concentrated in the areas of work conditions, and in the betterment of the workers' free time. "A General Electric officer explained at an NTC Welfare Department meeting:—The General Electric Company does not believe in spending anything in a purely sentimental way; it is a cold business behind it every time."

Ramirez shows the evidence of the revolutionary role played by the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies). The Wobblies concentrated not only on the waged but also on the unwaged workers and on the immigrant labor. Their struggle included the use of sabotage as a positive strategy to curb the power of capital. A noted Wobbly was reported saying that "Sabotage is to social war what guerrillas are to national wars. If it does no more than awaken a portion of the workers from their lethargy it will have been justified. But it will do more than that; it will keep the workers awake and will incite them to do battle with masters. It will give added hope to the militant minority, the few who always bear the brunt of the struggle".

NEW WAVE: PARENTS JOIN IN

On Oct. 18, 1977 the bodies of Gudrun Ensslin, Jan Carl Raspe and Andreas Baader were found in their cells at Stammheim prison. Irmgard Moller was found stabbed four times with a butter knife but still alive. The cause of the three deaths was reported as suicide, yet all the evidence that has arisen to date points to the state's guilt of a bungled crime.

Eight days later the three prisoners were buried in a cemetery in Stuttgart. 1200 people came to their funeral, while some 1000 police were there to watch over, photograph, video, question and finally provoke those attending.

At the time of these events Pastor Ensslin, father

of Gudrun Ensslin, made the following statement to the Italian newspaper *Lotta Continua*:

"Gudrun has always shocked us, for many years. Through every step which she took. But she had never broken off the contact with us, even when we were of totally different opinions about some problems. I myself was once very naive. But now I believe that I must fight; I am convinced that she was murdered. She was always afraid that she would be murdered, even in the case of being liberated and going out of the country.

"After the death of Ulrike Meinhof, she told me that it might end that way. And, for her, a suicide was absolutely out of the question. Gudrun had never lied, just as the others from the **RAF Red Army Faction** have never lied; they always took responsibility for their deeds. The others, who are making short work of her, they tell lies, big ones in fact. At the present moment, it is important to remember what Irmgard Moller says, and she is also no liar. Perhaps the killer had done a bad job on her. But they all say nothing about that. And they advise us to give up and to keep silent. Everything is so perfect, that it really reminds me of National Socialism in some parts. Many don't know anything about it. Others don't want to hear about it; they don't want to be disturbed in their comfort, they have



Gudrun Ensslin's Parents at the Funeral

their *Bild* newspaper, the sport of hunting the special offers in the department stores, their holidays and the lottery. The fronts have hardened on both sides.

"Many parents of **RAF** members are as isolated today as their children, but only a few — mostly high public figures — have disowned their children. I receive letters and telephone calls from people who want to show their solidarity with me and that not only out of pity. But an acquaintance of ours, who worked as a sewer at a tailors, lost her job, after she contradicted the suicide version on Tuesday as the others mentioned the deaths of Baader and the others. Within a few days, the atmosphere in the shop became unbearable and then she was fired.

"In this difficult situation, which we are presently in, the parents and the relatives of the **RAF** members are trying to support one another. Many of us will go to the funeral tomorrow.

"Gudrun didn't think I meant bad, but she thought I was unaware. We often wrote to each other. After ten years, I have begun to study, to learn again. If one really wants to find out the cause of terrorism, as the government claims, then one has to go back a long way in the history of Germany. I have tried to grasp this, to open my eyes to this fact and I think I have been at least partly successful."

For this statement, the public prosecutor and the Church administration have begun prosecution against Pastor Ensslin for "defaming the state" and "injurious slander".

(Statement by Pastor Ensslin taken from *Campaign Against the Model West Germany*, No. 4)

CRUEL AND UNUSUAL

by Gerrard McNeil and Sharon Vance, Deneau and Greenberg Publishers Ltd., 1978.

In spite of the scandalous reports of police brutality, recent R.C.M.P. crimes and political corruption in all levels of government, most Canadians have remained contently oblivious to the horrors of state imposed terror. The majority of this country still maintains a naive, uncritical faith in the police and Canadian laws. However, an ever increasing number of Canadians have found themselves beyond the protection of these laws. Statistics recently indicate that "roughly one Canadian in every thousand is doing time in a federal penitentiary, a provincial prison, a municipal jail or police lock-up on any given day."

And now, Gerrard McNeil and Sharon Vance have presented in their recent book, **Cruel and Unusual**, one of the most tragic and harrowing reports on the conditions within the Canadian penal system, conditions which will undoubtedly elude the conscience of most Canadians. Through the testimony of guards and prisoners, they have revealed a state of violence and suffering, "a kind of lawless society", which

exist in the worst totalitarian regimes. They have exposed the stories of hundreds of people who are regularly attacked in their cells by German sheppards, tear-gassed and beaten for the smallest infraction of prison rules, and occasionally chained out of reach of the toilet and water tap in their cells. Even after having served their sentences, hundreds of prisoners remain incarcerated for months, sometimes years.

Why are these conditions maintained? Perhaps for no other reason than social control, or as one American psychologist put it: "It is designed, I believe, not so much for security purposes but to reduce the individual to that condition where there is no conceivable resistance, where they represent essentially nothing. To come to have no meaning, to come to be nothing, is essentially the greatest human suffering. That is to say it leads ultimately to insanity and suicide."

In the struggle to retain their individuality, identity and self-worth, inmates do in fact resist. However, without the familiar social conventions of the outside community, prisoners are forced to utilize whatever means are available, and the only means in most prisons is to fight back. "The more guards it takes to overcome a prisoner, the higher the status. With no normal outlets, these men find stature by subverting the system, smuggling drugs, attempting suicide, or harassing sex offenders..."

Recently, inmates have begun to realize the inefficacy of such isolated acts of dissent. Isolated acts must be coupled with collective efforts and united demands. And when these demands are denied by the system, the solution is to tear that system down.

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EDITORIAL

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 19) proclaims that: "Everyone has the right of freedom of opinion; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information through any media and regardless of frontiers."

On the other hand, there is a political crisis in the Canadian state and the radical forces within Canada are being purged. The KGB-like 'thought police' continue to extend their influence to all areas of public and private affairs. In yet another example of the intimidation used against Canadian labour, political, native, intellectual dissidents, the RCMP has launched an investigation into the activities and the personalities involved in the publication of STRIKE. The RCMP has determined that those activities and personalities represent a potential threat to the security of the Canadian state and that they will feel obliged to make recommendations (to whom?) to alleviate that threat.

The guarantees of the U.N.'s declaration on human rights are our resource to confront that intimidation. Therefore, in the manner of STRIKE NO. 2 we continue to advance our support of all activities, whether legal or illegal, that are an expression of people in their battle against power structures.

Strikes against private or public power sectors, armed struggle by individual attacks or mass movements, boycotts and lobby pressures, individual shoplifting or mass looting, demonstrations of protest, absenteeism and workplace sabotage, etc., are actions taken by people themselves daily across the world which together constitute their struggle to make their own history. Repressive structures such as capitalism or authoritarian communism can be overthrown when all actions by people whether spontaneous or organized, moderate or extreme, local or international, self-interested or directed against the socio-political formation, etc., proliferate at the same time.

MY POLITICAL WILL

Jean-Paul Sartre

Dedicated to my anarchist friends whom I have unjustly ignored and to the memory of Camus.

from *Mon testament politique* (Edition "Gare L'explosion", 1977), courtesy of Edizioni della Rivista "Anarchismo".

Jean Paul Sartre is accepting donations towards the support of terrorist Joachim Klein. Make cheques payable to J.P. Sartre, 32 Rue de Lorraine, 75019 Paris, or directly to Jean Paul Sartre, account N. 9517 Z 3561, Banque Hervet, 26 Boulevard Magenta, 75010 Paris.



Any government that does not include the whole of the population is an illusory government. The right — if rights and government did not swear to remain forever in opposition — would be that people make laws for themselves, without representation, without mediation.

Until today we have had only illusory governments. But, contrary to what the old and new usurpers of the sovereignty of people would insist, whether those be Stalinists of any kind, formalist republicans or Montanards, should we consider Giscard to be an outlaw?

If it were a political law — and for these gentlemen that's all it would be — it would not with all of its power, constitutional or absolute, outlaw Giscard. Indeed, he is God and pontiff.

It is in the law that the representational assemblies, constituent or legislative, grant papers or laws to the people. Like the provisional government of the revolution, it hurls its edicts from Mount Sinai. In this point there is no dispute, Giscard is not an outlaw. Of course he is not outside the political law.

But, the law is one thing, and social, human and natural law is something else. From this other point of view, is Giscard within the law? Clearly no. No more a self-serving provisional government after the victory of February. No more a legislative assembly that imprisons, extradites, shoots, and guillotines the forces of the future. No more votes and acts that create misery for subjugated minds. But Mr. Giscard is not the only outlaw. The government is also outlaw; all governments that have come before. The whole bourgeoisie, all owners, the bankers, the shopkeepers, the industrialists. Each master that exploits labour, production, and the misery and hunger of the proletariat is an outlaw.

WITH A KNIFE, ALONE, AT THE CORNER OF A DESERTED STREET OR UNDER THE VEIL OF DARKNESS. TO KILL AND DISPOSSESS A PRINCE OF HIS CROWN, TO KILL OR DISPOSSESS A BOURGEOIS OF HIS GOLD, DOES NOT MEAN TO KILL AND DISPOSSESS A MAN.

Yes, outlaw! And we have the right to protest against the bourgeois oppression. With guns in a mass uprising, with flags in the wind, in the day-

light at the barricades, and also, individually, with a knife, alone, at the corner of a deserted street or under the veil of darkness. To kill and dispossess a prince of his crown, to kill or dispossess a bourgeois of his gold, does not mean to kill and dispossess a man; it means to kill a wild beast and to dispossess it of its fur. For the proletariat, each minute of the day, it is a matter of self-defence.

Who would dare criticize the servants of the Middle Ages who burned down their lord's castles, dipping their hands into the intestines to pull out his guts and then dance among the smoking ruins of the castle? Who would dare criticize those servants for creating with iron and fire their own freedom? Which one of you would dare to criticize the slaves of ancient time who struck the patrician, catching him in the midst of an orgy, snatching from him the golden cup, and after having emptied it, escaping, taking along the pillage and murdering the robbed one?

Which one of you would dare to criticize the republicans of ancient Rome, who, wanting to free the Republic from a tyrant, dipped a knife into Caesar's ribs, washing, with blood, the shame of his yoke?

Then! Times have changed. Caesar still exists. Yesterday he was called a provisional government, government of liberation, constituent, legislative assembly, presidency; today his name is Giscard; tomorrow he will be called Marchais or Mitterand.

Are then Brutus and all other regicides dead? The patrician, the feudal lord, are they not today's bourgeois? The slave, the servant, are they not today's proletariat? Present day slaves, servants and revolutionaries, the logic is relentless. It drives our behaviour. Then, stand up! Let's resurrect the tradition of Brutus, Spartacus, and the rebellious peasants of past history! Stand up! Action! Insurrection! Revolution!

Action, insurrection, yes, but why? To let us be imprisoned, to be shot down without reason, to leave our companions and children in mourning and misery? All of this is a miserable thing. Revolution, yes. But which one? The one that will substitute one power for another power, one man for another man? An even sadder thing! We all have the right and (when the appropriate time comes) the duty to act, to utilize the muscles that nature has given us, to break through insurrec-

tion the chains of slavery that are tied around our throats and wrists. Individually we can do very little; collectively, everything. We have strength. What we lack for success, is unfortunately very little! It is the idea, the faith, the passion, the fanaticism for the idea. Without faith, passion, fanaticism, we cannot lift mountains or make miracles. Without an idea, the strength is infertile and does not produce anything but a crop of catastrophes. The strength without the idea is like a locomotive moving at the highest speed in a direction where there are no rails, a ship without a pilot and without a compass, that in a short time will be swallowed by the waves.

Therefore, no action, no insurrection, no revolution without a social scope, if we do not want to "replace one crime with another crime". However, inaction is not permissible. We have to act, to rise up, to revolt. Each person should question himself and others' thoughts and instill ideas. All of these individual convictions, without losing anything of their own individuality, should gather together into a unity of principles like the leaves of a tree branch. They should face one or more issues: the government, religion, private ownership, the family. All of these that have resolved one issue positively should gather on one side, and all of those that have not resolved any issue should gather on another side. So we seek to create the unity of the revolutionary party, without having agreed on everything within the four large heads of the beast, which under the name of civilization forces us into modern barbarism. Without having to make detailed definitions. At this point, the ship will have a pilot, a compass. The locomotive will have rails. The strength will be at the service of an idea and the revolution will be powerful.

(Conclusion)

So, as a solution, freedom, equality, and brotherhood. Freedom of thought. Freedom of love. Freedom of work. Freedom of action. Freedom of everything and for everybody. Equality of rights, equality of duties: social equality. Brotherhood, that is the social character impressed on the simultaneous act of freedom and of equality on the plane of humanity; a scenario that can be imagined. The last word on the form: to stress solidarity and unity. And, as an operational means, as transitional means: self-government and direct legislation. (a)

And to never repeat that people remain ignorant. That if one places in their hands a tool which they do not know how to use, that they will not

article, and I have to confess that in the moment of starting it I was a bit more enthusiastic about the idea of direct legislation than I am now; however I did not want to censor this part of my work without having something better to replace it with. The sincere man's criticism will emerge demand the assistance of those that know. No, I will answer to those smart-asses of the revolution, to those sustainers of dictatorship. It is only by hammering iron on an anvil that one learns to become a blacksmith; it is through making one's own laws that people will learn to self-govern and do it well. I know very well that the blacksmith's assistant will break his fingernails many times before he learns enough to do his job well. This will teach him to be more careful with what he is working on, and, as they say: "this will stick his job to his hands". People making their own laws, will break their fingernails in the beginning, attempting to self-govern: this will teach them to examine more carefully their own projects, to better realize them. And, if sometimes they make decisions, the following day they will be ready to modify those arrangements, hammering out the new ones on the anvil.

But, before they reach that point, there is a material obstacle that must be breached: imperialism, and another means of operation that must be employed: insurrection. No matter how large the suffrage is that sustains a power, it is always sitting on a volcano. Lava is fermenting at the bottom of the pit. Storms and past attempts have, it is true, turned off a little of the fire that was smoldering underneath, but the new generation will grow with the social idea very clear in their minds, and hence we will achieve a noticeable growth in strength. If power does not open large slits to let socialism in, sooner or later, it will be torn down by the eruption of the volcano. The land quakes under the poison of reaction, and the old society, like another Pompeii, will not have to wait too long until it is swallowed in the incandescent wave of the revolution.

EACH DAY, WOMEN AND WORKERS, IN THE MEASURE OF THEIR STRENGTH AND CONVICTIONS, IN THE FAMILY AS IN THE FACTORY, OR THE DESERTED STREET CORNER. IT IS TODAY, IT IS ALWAYS THE TIME, IT IS ALWAYS THE INSTANT TO ACT, TO REBEL, TO REVOLUTIONIZE.

To work, then! It is not a matter of going to sleep while waiting for the day of judgement. We have to prepare it. Each day, women and workers, in the measure of our own strength and convictions, in the family as in the factory, or the deserted street corner. It is today, it is always the time, it is always the instant to act, to rebel, to revolutionize.

Everyone, arise! With your arms and your hearts, with the pen and the word, with the knife and the gun, with the curse and the irony, with adultery and pillage (b), with poisoning and fire (c). Let's make (on the great path of principles or at the crossroads of individual rights, with insurrection or with murder, with war against society) the war against civilization (d). Stand up! And if by luck, one of us falls into the hands of the authorities, (under the whip, in jail or before the firing squad) that each of us will confess before humanity and before nature as a witness that we have been acting within our own rights and obeying our own conscience (e).

(Notes).

(a) It should be understood that when I speak of direct legislation (self-government), I do not as yet have a completely clear idea in my mind, since I do not see a complete plan of society's organization that destroys totally the law system as it exists. The day in which this kind of organization will be known, not only will I abandon this idea of legislation, but I will be the first one to fight it.

It has been over a year since I have written this

and produce a system entirely detached from the past.

Although, it is clear that this is what I mean, that it is each person's right — man or woman, 'human being' — to always dissent and to disobey the law; whatever this is, whenever one has the energy, any time this authority oppresses him. It is up to him to decide when an insurrection is a necessity, or if it is more useful and more productive for a future result, to fight with active propaganda.

(b) That adultery would cause as much disorganization as possible in the family routine. That no husband can claim: "I am the father of this child". And that, finding only disgust and stress in marriage, an unbearable existence he will be forced to escape, to demand for himself the freedom of love and to abandon his own position of authority. That in all things joy will be born out of the excesses of evil, because, this is what the big human exploiters are forcing to happen by their resistance to progress.

(c) That each revolutionary select, among those he can truly trust, one or two other workers like himself. And that — in little groups of three or four without any connection among them and functioning independently, in such a way that the discovery of one of the groups does not drive all the other groups to jail — they act with a common scope: the destruction of the old society. And they will arrange in such a manner to destroy completely for a long time the privileged, which in order to escape death and destruction, will make a common cause with the proletariat in reclaiming equality. There would not exist any salvation for the privileged and that no hope would be possible outside of their own annihilation.

AT NIGHT, KNIFING OR STRANGLING HIM OR THE MASTERS, FORCING, BREAKING IN OR OPENING WITH FALSE KEYS THE FURNITURE WHERE THEY COULD FIND JEWELLERY, SILVERWARE OR CASH: THAT THEY WILL TAKE AWAY EVERYTHING THAT IS POSSIBLE TO TAKE AWAY, AND AS THEY LEAVE SET THE HOUSE ON FIRE.

That for example, each group will proceed as follows: among the three or four members of the group, one of them would be a mason or a carpenter, and this one would take the cast of the lock of the wealthy's apartments where he has been called to work, that he would check well all of the exits, that he will question very shrewdly the house maids with the scope of having all of the indispensable information. And that once having taken all precautions, he will warn the other members of the group — his accomplices if you wish — and at a given time, entering the apartment of the rich man at night, knifing or strangling him or the masters, forcing, breaking in or opening with false keys the furniture where they could find jewellery, silverware or cash; that they will take away everything that is possible to take away, and as they leave set the house on fire. But above all that they would not use what they recover from the theft to improve their own condition, because this act will be their damnation: a change in their own condition will betray them, pointing them out to the police.

That they would kill and pillage to destroy. Later they would bury all of the gold they have gathered, with the scope that if any of them would be suspected or discovered, this gold will be used for escape.

The group, with what they will get from the expropriation of the wealthy, will be able to clandestinely purchase a printing press, and that the leaflets will make public the scope and the means of action of this horrible society, daily they should say to the people about all murders, all the pillages, all the poisonings, the fires that are

executed in the city and in the country by the hands of the revolutionaries, of the rebel peasants, and that in this manner they will go on until the authorities are completely destroyed.

In another group, where there is a pastry chef/worker, that this one would try at any cost to be hired in one of the large pastry factories that cater to the rich, and for New Year's eve, or the festivities thereabout, poison one or ten or twenty trays of sweets, as many as possible, and the day after one hundred or one thousand wealthy people will cease to exist.

That this secret society, with their clandestine printing presses, would then claim the responsibility and the stoic poisoner would disappear, hence avoiding arrest.

THAT HE WOULD POISON THE CHAMPAIGNE, IF THIS IS POSSIBLE, THE RARE WINES, THE GLOVES, THE CAKES, THE ICES, AND THE CREAMS.

That in a gift shop the same would also happen. That he would poison the champagne, if this is possible, the rare wines, the gloves, the cakes, the ices, and the creams. That in the country they would burn down the rich man's crops, the rich man's houses, the churches; that in the cities the same would happen to the houses, the churches, the governmental buildings, the city halls, all of the bureaucratic offices and commercial buildings. That the sword of Damocles is constantly held over the heads of the privileged; that the snakes of terror, like those of Nemesis, hiss night and day into their ears frightening them out of their luxury and lives; that their position would become unbearable and that tired of such anguish, they would see themselves forced to fall on their knees to demand forgiveness, begging the proletariat to grant them life in exchange for their privilege and the common joy in exchange for the general disgrace.

(d) The civilization, today synonymous with barbarity, has to be destroyed that way it was when barbarity opened another era of civilization. Humanity, which has become quite large, today rejects it like a too-tight dress in order to enter a new phase of progress called harmony.

TOMORROW, IF YOU DO NOT RELEASE ME, YOU WILL ALL DIE.

(e) An individual or a group that is brought to trial has to go with no shame, and that he will not place himself in the role of the accused, but in the role of the enemy, and always a dangerous enemy whatever he is, prisoner or free, dead or alive, because a man of principles defeated in a struggle never dies totally and that is his satisfaction and his strength, his comrades will survive — he should say to the ones who want to convict him:

me, you will die. I curse you to die knifed by the secret societies of which I am a member, and this curse, you should learn it well, for them it is an order. And now, hit me, if you can!" And the day after, if the revolutionary is condemned, the secret societies will kill, whatever the price and without backstepping from any danger, from the judges to the jurymen who have been compromised in the sentence.

Gentlemen of family and ownership, of religion and the government, you want privilege, and so therefore receive the consequences. Do you believe that your life, your world, your venomous society, could last a long time against such a revolutionary means as this? Answer, son of Malthus!

But, unfortunately, the energies are weak today, and only the day after another revolution has been squashed will this idea generate its fruit. While waiting, I am throwing this seed into the heart of all those who suffer, and let's begin! You will not escape this insurrection. I hope it would start right away.

TOWARDS A NEW PARTY

Joseph Beuys

In the current discussion on a "new party for the future", we share the opinion of those for whom the main task lies in the concentration of many forces for the preparation of a solution to the enormous problems in the global, ecological and futurological perspective. If one were to arrive at the decision to establish this new party, then it would certainly attract all those who want to engage themselves in a long political term for humanity. It would never place itself in favour of short term specific material interest of a class or a rank (not even for factory workers alone or intellectual classes as an interest group) at the centre of its efforts. On the contrary, general interests and broad ideas would constitute its **particular interest**. In a dialectical formulation, it could be said that it would articulate and organize the universality as a special specificity.

THE THIRD WAY ACTION believes that time has come to consider such a new party, a party in which there is no space for those who want to represent only the immediate and petty interests of the electorate or those who for personal and material reasons long to gain positions and power; a party then, that from the beginning refuses to compete with today's parties for positions of power and patronage, yet naturally does not fear the rational confrontation with them, which will be carried out always in a non-violent manner. The efforts for rationalization, democratization, and the humanization of the party's conflicts in each single country and in the world, would constitute the party's own unique contribution to politics. It must never cease to emphasize the necessity to face our ever new and complex problems on the basis of a wide collaboration of the constructive forces for all countries and continents.

But before such a new party of the future can be formed, which will embody the new and flourish as a free association of politically motivated people, groups, ecological associations, human rights organizations, popular initiatives, magazines, newspapers, clubs enterprises (economical and cultural organizations), small parties, etc.; we must clarify which are the fundamental objectives of our political activity. In other words, the political standpoint of the party must be clearly identified, in the sense of what we have called an alternative to the existing systems of capitalism and authoritarian communism. Starting from this alternative, which we characterize as the THIRD WAY, all particular questions of the organization will be quickly answered, by the process of an organizational pattern which is intended to evolve and to endure metamorphosis in the course of the practical development of our work. This candor considers the proposed concept here, even if it would lead to an institutionalization of a party at the national and international levels.

Let's consider the current debate that has been carried out over the past few months in the circles of the non-conformist and democratic left, to further discuss the problematic connected to the foundation of a party that would truly consider the great challenges of our time.

One of our founders of the idea of the THIRD WAY has declared his support in favour of such a party in an essay (recently published). He raises the question of the placement of the new party within the present spectrum of parties:

"Of course this party could be characterized as a radical and left party. Insofar as it would adopt the objectives of a global, human and liberal or libertarian socialism, it would step aside from both the pseudo-reformist opportunists and pseudo-dogmatic revolutionaries. This party

would offer room for a pluralist viewpoint and the diverging methods forces could extend itself from critical marxist, realist syndicalists, and humanist anarchists to non-marxists, radical democrats, catholic and left protestants, and also pacifists of various tendencies. The defence of active tolerance, of world wide humanity and long term global politics, should qualify the party as something more than a sect and to prove that, in the end, it could truly become a new party of the future . . . It should reconsider endlessly the great struggles and the essential questions of our era — whether these are the arms race, population explosion, Third World starvation, environmental pollution, power concentration in the hands of the bureaucracy of obsolete states or obtuse tycoons, or the insecurity, frustration and aggressiveness of individuals — just to list some of the main problems. Because these struggles essentially concern issues that go beyond the frame of single nations and each country, even the new party should be international and transnational. This can be expressed by the importance that it would give to contacts with other similar groupings. We think not only in this regard — but also not ultimately — about the so-called eurocommunists as conversant. The traditional barriers of a party should be consciously relativized."

Ossip K. Flechtheim, the author of these thoughts about a new party for the future, concludes his essay with the question "This utopian idea could one day become a fruitful reality".

Of course, right after the publication of Flechtheim's suggestions, there were voices of consensus but also of criticism and opposition. The ACTION assumes, for this reason, a very sober viewpoint, starting from many divergencies of opinion which could become meaningless. Our viewpoint can be characterized in the following manner:

1. Not one of the existing organized parties follow a politic in which its content considers needs that can be disregarded and which could open a solution to the current crisis of civilization.
2. We have to examine (a) how many people today have already recognized what is the crucial point of the problem, and have therefore understood that the economical, sociological and moral crisis, the military threat, the East-West conflict, the North-South antagonism, etc., simply constitute diverse manifestations, aspects and symptoms of the general crisis of civilization, the crisis of modern industrial society in general, the crisis that has been caused by the social systems that have consolidated themselves in the modern era, between capitalism on the one hand and totalitarian communism on the other; (b) how many people are actually inclined to a common action to allow for the emergence of a new project for civilization. This examination can only be realized as a consciously driven practical experiment. We have to determine its content and give it an organizational form. A party, as an instrument of change, can play in this experiment a positive, if not indispensable role. But such a party is, **a priori**, only a part of the entire experiment.
3. An essential condition of the experiment is that we would radically give up all cliches of political positioning in the 'new party'. Without the capacity to strictly eliminate all of the 'isms' and all the traditional classifications — even being able to use them consciously when needed — one would risk ignoring or humiliating **a priori** a good segment of the effective potential of real innovative forces. But can we not eliminate such

terms as 'left', 'socialist', etc? Why should we predetermine as a start the ones whom we will accept as allies or not? Of what concern is it to us if someone calls himself a Marxist or not, Christian or Atheist, Anarchist or Liberal, Philosopher or Communist? All of these terms are only problematic, often constituting an immense obstacle to get precisely to the point, to speak properly. If we would finally give up the whole generalization of traditional terminology — determine our precise location concretely in relation to the contents, if we would briefly describe the same phenomena and manner in which we want to re-structure them; if we would concentrate ourselves on the re-organization, transformation, and construction of the new relationship among members or elements of the complete social system, in a document not only about the survival of mankind, but also as a guarantee of an existence worthy of man in freedom, equality and brotherhood; if we would explain concretely what all this means in the design of a new econ-



omic, monetary, political and cultural system, etc.; if we would finally and concretely indicate how under the condition of such a new direction of social evolution (to which reality is of course pushing) we could actually put aside the problems of inflation, destruction, the foolish arms race, Third World starvation, the availability of raw materials, etc., only then would human beings be found who today (over and above ideologies, parties and associations) are longing for the new.

We know, of course, from personal experience, how difficult it is to free ourselves from the weight of tradition, even with respect to terminology. However, we must make an effort, for only in this way, will all our contemporaries who are seriously interested in a solution to the problems, be won over to the active struggle for a new social world order — even if they opt for this alternative in some election or ballot.

4. Since as we have noticed, that many people already have given their consent and support for what the THIRD WAY ACTION has set forth, and that they are even intending to support other similar initiatives, it seems to us a step coherent with the logic of reality to unite these people in an associational organization. This organization will be able to evolve toward the earlier mentioned party of the future, or to associate itself

with others in the formation of a party that could spring up from certain tendencies that are presently discussed in the circles of the independent left, and that go in the direction of the scope and the methods of the ACTION.

In our opinion, any limitation to the planning of such a party — for instance on ecological issues — is incorrect. All the manifestations of the crisis are consequences of the basic characteristics of the dominant systems. The New Social Movement, which is composed out of a profusion of single movements, will be able to fulfill its historic mission only if it finds a way of integrating itself. A party initiative could very well function as an integrating movement, as long as it will respect the norms mentioned earlier.

The next step, in our view, must consist of forming a committee that belongs to all those who want to further consult the aforementioned thoughts and the contextual and organizational questions, so that practical steps can be taken as soon as possible.

In view of the fact that this work requires a great deal of time, travel, conferences and publications, as well as collaborators who must devote themselves entirely towards these tasks, it is extremely important that all those who see something valid and necessary in our ACTION, sup-

port our work through their membership. It is an elementary truth that our radius of incisiveness will be directly proportional to the economic means which we will have available to us.

We very seriously ask all those who recognize the weight of the project from our perspective, to mobilize and to do everything that is possible — even financially — so that the beneficial effect of this historical impulse for humanity's dilemma will not be lost. Whoever finds some interest in the project THIRD WAY ACTION, should realize clearly what the significance of the failure of such an impulse would be, especially if it comes from a failure to gather sufficient finances to overthrow the power of capital and the power of bureaucracy. Already in the next two or three years it will be decided if this initiative will have a chance to throw the existing system off its hinges; if it is possible to start a radical inversion of the main direction before the ecological, economic, or military catastrophies will fall on mankind.

translated from the German edition of **Aktion Dritter Weg-Aufbauinitiative** (Achberger Verlaganstalt, 1978).

Support THIRD WAY ACTION
Send donations directly to
THIRD WAY ACTION, Volksbank Wangen
i. Allg. N. 39530000, Sparkasse
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NEW WAVE: KILL YOUR PARENTS

"There is no morality outside human society. Morality is determined by the interests of the waged and unwaged sectors of society in their struggles against 'capital'. Morality is everything that destroys the old exploitative society."¹

Any perception of morality 'outside human society', as is typical of metaphysical speculations, makes the mistake of defining an unchangeable reality, a divine reality that not only exists outside human society but without it. These speculations are not very interesting, as they are unfounded, and do not provide useful tools for examining reality. Another perception is the idea of the immutable nature of classes in that once a position within society is acquired, that position becomes absolute and undisputed. This is typified by the capitalist ethics of 'opportunity' and 'merit' that define the human relationships and dependencies necessary for the powerful and rich to maintain their positions over the workers. The capitalist system can only exist, of course, through the labours of a large unemancipated working class that is supervised by a wealthy class which occupies its position through virtue of its 'greater efforts and risk'. As a corollary, the working class is defined to be fundamentally reactionary and without the desire for self-emancipation. These two contradictory philosophies have been amalgamated into modern bourgeois capitalism, especially that present in North America. Rather than conflict, however, these two concepts are used to promote class advantage and subjugation. While theological precepts are used to console the workers with promises of immortality for their virtue (serving the masters, not rebelling, working hard) they are spurred on to even greater cooption through promises of material gain for those that through their 'talents, hard work and determination' succeed in crossing the line into the ruling class. Obviously with the weight of the establishment (religion, education and the ruling economic class) serving its own end against the interests of the working class, the working class finds itself enmeshed in a society which provides it with no apparent alternatives, no objective counter-proposals and which the working class (to end its own injury) provides the strongest (through numbers) defense. Self-emancipation is not a natural condition. It exists only within certain social relations and a particular material reality. However, just because the majority of the working class is not emancipated, does not preclude the process of emancipation as a goal that the working class demands from 'capital'.

PUBLIC OPINION DEFENDS THE INTEREST OF THE RULING CLASS

Morality and ethics are at the discretion of the ruling class for the protection of ruling class interests against working class aggression. Wallace Clement has carefully described in his book **An Analysis of Economic Power**, the function of the mass media in creating the perception of reality, and in particular, the creation of 'public opinion'. Through this means, public opinion defends the interests of the ruling class. Public opinion is used to express moral outrage against certain crimes perpetrated against the ruling class by the working class and is carefully manipulated to prevent moral outrage when crimes (though ruling class morality does not even define them as criminal) are committed against the working class by the ruling class. For example, the death of the head of any capitalist state is made the subject of all the available media when the death comes at the hands of members of the working class, but the mass executions of workers in the third world is relegated to the back pages of the popular newspapers and not even covered by most of the electronic media. Kidnapping a member of the ruling class results in prison sentences for the working class, but when members of the working class die because a capitalist has not secured safe working conditions, the punishment is kept to a fine or a warning or less. Stealing food for survival is punished severely (conveniently justice is blind and all crimes against the ruling class are equally to be abhorred), while keeping an entire nation in ignorance of its political responsibilities and rights is even promoted.

Obviously morality is something that is invented to serve class interests and nothing else. Class interests exist within social relations and within materialist reality and not in a vacuum.

The morality of the ruling class is classic in its nuances, it is humanist in the worst sense of the word. It is hypocritical, a lie within the reality advanced by the ruling class, itself. To establish this hypocrisy, it is necessary only to examine the various meanings and concepts of 'crime'. Morality defines as criminal such activities of the working class as self-reduction of prices, appropriation of food and other goods, or refusing to cooperate with the power sector. These definitions and the whole structure of jail — bail, money — law enforcement reveal the ultimate nature of morality and its relationship to the rulers and the exploited. Self-reduction is a crime that is opposed by the power of the police, but the state stands behind self-increase in profits, even guaranteeing a certain level of profit through state intervention, and though it recognizes the reality, the state ignores the false creation of economic crises (oil, food supply, etc.) that are purposefully manipulated to drastically increase profit margins. Appropriation during times of civil unrest is seen as indicator of the moral decay of society, but the whole system that forces people into demeaning, de-humanizing jobs where there is not economic security, no protection for life and health, where the ignorant, the immigrant, women, and non-whites are most exploited is lauded as the height of free-enterprise capitalism. The double standards of 'morality' that are applied by the ruling class have been made very clear in the official attitudes toward worker health and safety and environmental issues. The dangers of lung cancer from cotton industries in the U.S. and Britain, asbestos mining in Quebec, coal mining in Appalachia, acid rain from nickel smelting industries in Canada, mercury pollution of streams and lakes throughout North America are all being dismissed as 'glamour issues' by the authorities.²

CORPORATE OBLIGATIONS EXIST WITHIN THE PARADIGM OF GREATER PROFITS

Corporate obligations exist within the paradigm of greater profits. They are not motivated by any sense of responsibility to their workers or to society at large. Nor is it a chance operation that during the western economic crises that has placed a severe burden on the working class (both waged and unwaged), especially those at the lower economic levels, the unemployed and those on fixed incomes, that there has been a steady and remarkable gain in the profit picture of the large transnational corporations and banks. Hudson's Bay recently announced a two-fold increase in profit for the past financial year and other companies have had equally rosy stories to tell at their annual meetings.

Obviously, what is a gain for one class, is a loss for another. Every penny less to the workers, is a penny more for 'capital'. But, these gains and losses must be carefully balanced (through redistribution mechanisms like taxes and social welfare schemes) so that the working class maintains a considerable degree of purchasing power, since the working class is also the largest consumer class. This process, of course, only confuses the working class perception of 'ruling class morality' all the more. This play-off of benefits versus liabilities is manipulated by the ruling class into a global situation. The working class is presented with the argument that 'working conditions are better here than in the Third World', while the consumer class is convinced that 'laissez-faire' capitalism without the interference of militant unions has created a utopia of goods and happy, willing workers in the developing countries. Only a global analysis of conditions in the industrialized West and the undeveloped Third World can reveal the effect and power of 'capital' and its careful production of a 'catch-22' situation for the working class.

THE ADVANTAGES ENJOYED IN THE WEST ARE OBVIOUSLY

TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE EXPLOITED COUNTRIES

The advantages enjoyed in the West are obviously to the disadvantage of the exploited countries that are producing raw materials for western consumption, just as the traditional working class within confined national boundaries was exploited by the ruling class within the same boundaries. In addition to control of raw materials, capital is also involved in the direct manipulation of labour across political boundaries. Immigrants from the most economically backward countries are regularly but temporarily allowed into the highly industrialized and unionized countries (Mexicans into the U.S., West Indians into Canada, Italians and Turks into Germany) to weaken the demands and bargaining position of the local working class and also to form a large reservoir of cheap, unskilled labour on demand. The German immigration law allows the workers, but not their families, as dependents not involved in the workforce would increase demands for health and welfare services and education which would eventually offset the economic gains. These immigrants have few rights, but at the same time are obliged to feel grateful for the opportunity to work in such a rich country. This type of situation is exaggerated even further in the Southwestern and Pacific U.S. where severe labour shortages can result in the authorities turning a blind eye to illegal immigration. However, as soon as the condition has been satisfied, the law strikes hardest on the illegal immigrants who are completely without rights.

The highest development of this cross-national manipulation of workers by capital in the name of 'morality' is in the aid to developing nations programmes that are a part of contemporary economic and political patterns within both the Eastern and Western Blocs. The importance of this benevolence to the continued supremacy of the ruling 'classes' has recently been very cynically recognized in the media.³ If the developed world is to maintain its position or even its integrity, it must pass along certain benefits in the form of aid in order to keep the peasant/worker nations at bay. There is a growing concern that the underdeveloped world will rise up in anger storming the Winter Palace and revolution against inequities on a global scale would take place. To prevent that, the workers are given just enough to keep them content. This, of course, leads to a position of dependence of the poor countries on the richer. The situation between China and Albania, which has been recently manifested, is a good example of the climate of such a relationship. Economical dependence of course implies that there is no political criticism, and as the Albanians became more critical, the economic ties were severed.

Political and economic systems legitimate the morality of the ruling class. Although politics and economics do make a morality of their own (outside of human relations), they do control and manipulate the ethics that bind human relations. The Morality of economics (of the factory) is the morality of the law of profit. The morality of politics is the morality of ruling class interests.

POLITICAL RULE HAS NO MORALITY

What then is the morality of the working class? Though by no means sufficient, the class interest of workers is directed toward higher wages. Thus the sentimental morality of the wealthy philanthropist, of the charitable institution and of cultural organizations serves only the interests of the ruling class. In the past, the ruling class used the church and secular law which was based in the church to maintain its position and interests. Today the complicated ethics of work and the contradictions that exist in modern high-profit capitalism, necessitate the invention of other devices to maintain control over workers and their labour. Mass media has been added to the arsenal of the ruling class. A manipulation, global in scale, is being exercised to fragment the waged and unwaged working classes. The worst examples of this are in the Third World,

where the most horrendous methods are used to force people to accept the one way exchange that benefits only the super-powers and the interests of the trans-nationals. All of the organizations and associations that have been established in the West to investigate and lobby for the rights of workers in the Third World are shocked at the atrocities committed by local authorities (servants of greater interests located elsewhere, with the U.S., Germany and Canada sharing major responsibilities for the human degradation and slaughter in South Africa, Chile, Iran and Indonesia). No shock should be felt, however, because political rule has no morality other than the interests of the ruling class. A black South African, clearly, has less worth for the world-wide ruling class than does the whites who rule there. This concern has been made ridiculously obvious in the media treatment of certain crises recently. A ditch in Rhodesia with the bodies of 600 black people killed by white mercenaries rated a photograph and almost no text deep inside Western newspapers and not even a mention in the electronic media. But when a dozen whites were killed by blacks, a huge protest came forth from the western capitalist press which carried the item with all its goriest details on the front pages in inch-high headlines. There are interests at stake that prevent the media from being loudly or effectively critical of the ruling class.

It is easy to feel repelled by bloody actions of one kind or another. One can, however, make a value judgement only when weighing the effects that human actions have and what interests they defend. Class interests in a class society are the key to under-

standing the revolutionary work that is being carried out. Only through understanding the difference in interests of the classes, through the effects of those interests can we take a stance in the global class conflicts that are becoming apparent. Decreasing the surplus value of 'capital' is the primary interest of the oppressed class. This is actualized through a multiple strategy for the appropriation of power. Bargaining for increased wages, armed struggle against the ruling class, expropriation of goods and refusing to work are all coherent acts within a context that uses sabotage of the capitalist modes of production and of the ruling class, itself, as the definition of a 'working class' morality. An excellent example of this multi-faceted strategy was the storming of the Parliamentary Building in Nicaragua by the Sandinistas, an action that was supported by the entire working class of that country and was followed by a general strike involving the middle class as well as the workers. Other acts of this scale are those of the 'diffused guerrillas'⁴ that re-interpret the morality of killing the rulers as a reinforcement of the interests of the working class. Using these means a great leap into a future of the appropriation of power by the exploited classes has begun.

Notes:

1. Statement by the Red Brigades during the Turin Trial, 1978, paraphrasing Lenin. The Red Brigades considered their trial to be a political trial of the morality of the ruling class. The consolidation of

'waged and unwaged' is the latest development of class warfare. The demands of the 'unwaged' are today even more explosive than those of the traditional 'working class'. Sectors of society that are not waged, such as women, children, students, minority groups, and so on, are the new revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries. For some illustration of this phenomenon and demands, see **All work and no pay, women, housework and the wage due**, published by the Power of Women Collective and the Falling Wall Press, London, 1975.

2. The Ontario Minister of Environment, 1978.

3. And article by Jack Cahill, "Foreign aid is security for our survival", **Toronto Star**, August 19, 1978. A view of foreign aid-politics from a capitalist viewpoint explained to the masses.

4. The 'diffused guerrilla' encounters the conservative terminology of the 'diffused terrorism', which is the way the entire phenomenon of the Italian 'Autonomous Left' is viewed by conservative-liberal, socio-political experts. However, a much wider survey of the formation, evolution, and situation of the Ultra-Left, the Workers' Power, the Movement of Autonomy in Europe should be explained for understanding the recent historical development, including the kidnappings of Aldo Moro and others.

From a paper for the seminar "THE USES OF TERRORISM", Law Union of Ontario's 5th Annual Conference, September 23, 1978.



The following headlines and articles have been extracted from the pages of the Canadian mass media over the past eight months. We have compiled them here in order to expose the various forms of overt oppression within Canada, and as a clear indication of the tactics the state is willing to use in its attempt to silence dissent.

EIGHT MONTHS OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

January 3: POLICE TOLD TO YIELD PAPERS TAKEN IN RAID

Toronto Police were ordered to hand over documents which were seized during their raid on **The Body Politic**, (Canada's national gay liberation newspaper) to a justice of the peace. The raid was made in connection with charges against the paper's article on child/adult relations.

January 4: METRO POLICEMAN MUST STAND TRIAL

Staff Sgt. Bruce French of the Toronto police was ordered to stand trial on charges of assault which were laid in connection to an alleged police beating of a Hamilton man. The victim testified his ribs were broken by two Toronto police officers during their investigation into stolen goods.

January 9: SOLICITOR GENERAL WITHHOLDS EVIDENCE

Solicitor General Francis Fox refused to turn over documents to the Quebec Keable Commission into illegalities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

January 10: RCMP FORGED LETTER CALLING FOR UPRISING IN QUEBEC

In an "attempt to clear the slate", Solicitor General Francis Fox admitted that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had forged a fake communiqué by the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) in 1971. This letter, calling for the Quebecers to "liberate themselves" by armed force from the "Anglo Saxon bourgeoisie", was the latest revelation about RCMP illegalities.

January 12: RCMP ILLEGAL ACTS ARE COMMONPLACE

Former RCMP intelligence chief Donald Cobb testified to the MacDonald Commission on illegal practices of the RCMP that activities such as opening mail, theft, breaking and entering are "commonplace" for members of the Canadian Mounted Police security service. He added that the acts were no longer seen "as illegal but as fundamental" for the security of the country.

January 18: RCMP USED OUTSIDE HELP TO SPY ON UNIONS

The Canadian Labour Congress claimed that the RCMP used a Toronto management firm to spy on the labour movement during the 1960s. Police had apparently provided details of bargaining and negotiations to multinational corporations in an effort to undermine union activities.

January 19: 7 POLICE GUILTY IN THEFT

Four former police of Moncton, New Brunswick, pleaded guilty to charges of breaking and entering and theft, while three others admitted to the theft at a warehouse last November.

January 21: RCMP IMPLICATED IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

For the second time in three days, two British Columbia civil liberties groups called for the disbandment of the MacDonald Commission for "apparent bias". They also claim that 300 B.C. Mountie intelligence agents have been implicated in gun-running, mail surveillance and trade union harassment in Vancouver.

January 27: 2 TORONTO COPS ACCUSED OF THEFT

Two Toronto police were arrested on charges of theft and breaking and entering. They were charged with the theft of a \$75 power saw from a Scarborough warehouse.

January 31: "DON'T SHOOT" BEATEN MAN CRIED

Former Toronto police constable John Beckingham was sentenced to five months in jail for the beating of Robert Malloy last March 24. Malloy was subjected to multiple beatings with the constables wooden billy, received numerous kicks to the head, stomach and legs and later shot at during a police interrogation.

February 7: MOUNTIES BLACKMAILED DISSIDENTS

A 1971 RCMP directive was released by the MacDonald Commission which recommended intelligence agents take advantage of love affairs, drug habits and power struggles to neutralize dissident political groups.

February 7: POLICEMAN CHARGED WITH \$200 THEFT

A Toronto police officer was charged with the theft of \$200 that vanished during a raid on a Toronto apartment.

February 11: SMASHING RAID BY POLICE

Toronto police and RCMP officers tore their way through a ceiling of an after-hours disco after having tried unsuccessfully for an hour to open a massive steel front door. Once inside the club the police began to smash furniture, records and steam heating fixtures, leaving \$6,000 in damages.



Photo: Police Gazette

February 17: COPS CHARGED IN SCHEME TO ROB SUPERMARKET

Two Toronto policemen were arrested and charged in connection with a plan to steal \$50,000 worth of equipment and merchandise from a Toronto supermarket. An investigation revealed a scheme in which the store's employees would be led into compromising situations with a hired prostitute and later blackmailed into assisting in the theft.

February 23: U.S. INFORMER SAYS HE BUGGED SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR RCMP

An American FBI informer claimed that he had been hired by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to secretly record conversations between Solicitor General Warren Almand and another member of the Canadian Parliament. He claimed that Solicitor General was chosen because the RCMP believed Almand to be a communist.

February 24: RCMP SAW OHIP FILES

The Ontario Minister of Health, Dennis Timbrell, admitted that the RCMP had access to confidential medical and psychiatric information contained in the files of the Ontario Health Insurance Plan.

March 8: POLICE ESCORT SCABS

20 Ontario Provincial Policemen guarded a bus load of scab workers past 40 striking women at an automobile component plant at Centralia, Ontario. The factory is 50% owned by the family of James

Fleck, Deputy Minister of Industry, Trade and Tourism.

March 15: BIKERS CLAIM BEATING A POLICE 'GAUNTLET'

Members of a Kitchener motorcycle club accused the local police of brutality during a raid on their club house last weekend. The bikers claimed that the police destroyed the interior of the house during a search. They added that once at the police headquarters they were handcuffed, forced to kneel against a basement wall while police walked on their legs and later they were beaten while running a police gauntlet.

March 20: POLICE SEIZE PHOTOS OF VIOLENCE AT STRIKE

Police seized newspaper photographer's negatives of a violent clash between police and striking women workers at the Fleck Manufacturing plant in Centralia, Ontario. The police were escorting scabs across picket lines.

March 22: EDITOR CHARGED WITH 'OFFICIAL SECRET' VIOLATION

Peter Worthington, editor of the **Toronto Sun**, was charged with receiving, possessing and making public 'top secret' information relating to Soviet intelligence officers operating in Canada. Substantial parts of the so-called 'secret' material was made public five weeks earlier on national television.

March 23: 15 METRO POLICE QUERIED OVER AXE-BEATING

Philip McGee, 40, who was sentenced to four years in jail for possession of stolen groceries, claimed that police beat him with axe handles and poured battery acid over his penis. Dr. Norman Goodwin, who had examined McGee after he was taken to jail, testified that McGee had bruises on his back consistent with the claim of being beaten with axe handles. The doctor also admitted that McGee had an infection on his penis which he doubted was caused by poor hygiene or venereal disease.

March 23: AUTOWORKERS CHARGED AFTER SCUFFLE WITH POLICE

Three autoworkers were charged with mischief and obstructing police as the result of a clash between police and strikers at the Fleck Manufacturing plant in Centralia. 77 police were attempting to guide vehicles of scab workers through the strike line.

March 30: RIOT POLICE BATTLE PICKETS

More than 200 police in riot gear battled strikers at the Fleck Manufacturing company and arrested three work

March 30: POLICEMAN REPRIMANDED FOR MAN'S DEATH

A Vancouver police constable was given a written reprimand for his part in the death of a prisoner in the police drunk tank on December 16. The constable testified he had pressed his thumb against a pressure point behind the victim's ear in an attempt to arouse him so he could move him to another cell. The officer said he knew this could cause excruciating pain, but did not know it could cause death. The 29 year old victim, Peter Herney, died from a cardiac arrest.

April 1: POLICE ROUGH UP CIVIL RIGHTS LAWYER

Toronto civil rights lawyer, Charles Roach, was forcibly detained by police for refusing to be questioned when stopped on his way home. Roach received sprained muscles and bruises to his legs while being forced into the patrol car.

April 11: POLICE TORTURED MAN TO CONFESS

A Toronto man testified that on October 20, 1972, he was subjected to electrical shocks while naked and blindfolded inside a Toronto police station. Manuel Da Silva testified the shocks were administered three different times before he "confessed" to a dozen breakins he hadn't committed. Da Silva was eventually cleared of the breakin charges.

MONTHS OF CRATIC ORDER

April 16: POLICE SHOOT 16 YEAR OLD

A 16 year old boy was shot in the chest by a Toronto police officer. The police claim they were in pursuit of three suspects breaking into parked automobiles.

April 19: 3 COPS FORCIBLY HOLD PRINTER A REPEAT

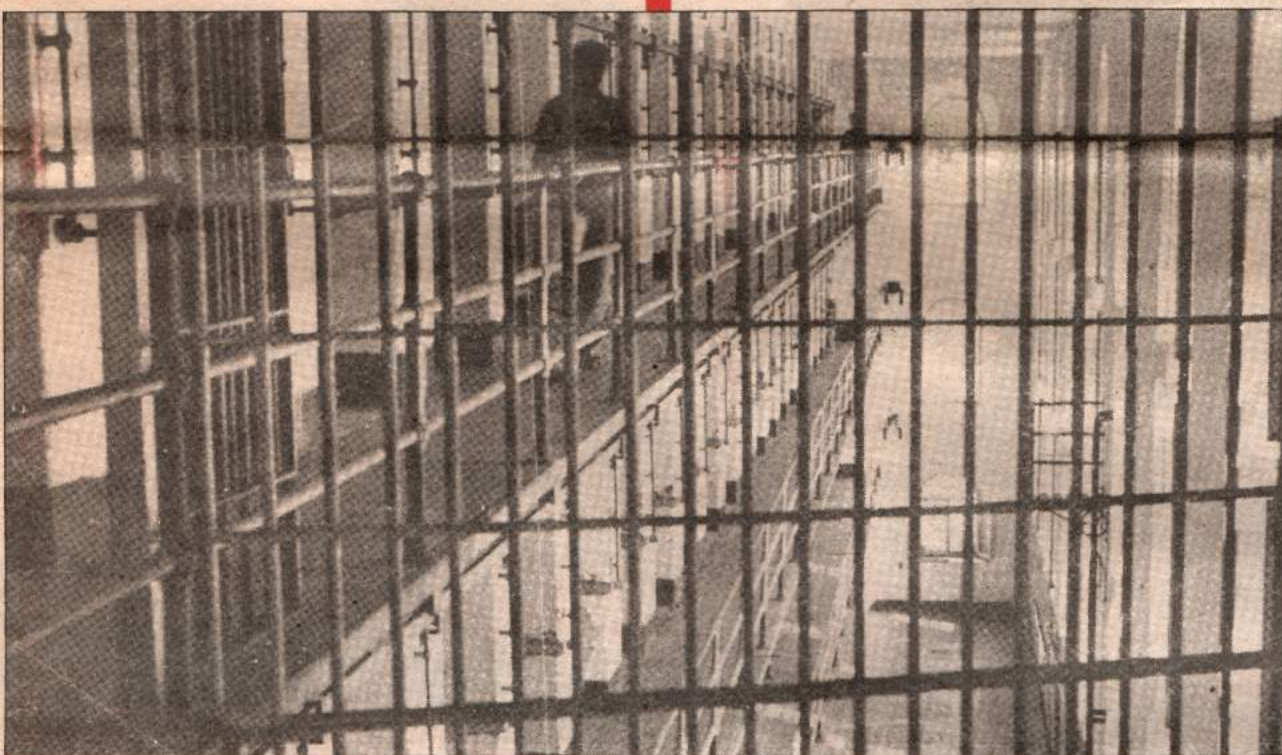
Three police officers working for the Quebec police commission into organized crime have been charged with forcibly detaining a Montreal printer.

April 19: EIGHTY-FIVE JAILED IN FACTORY MELEE

Eighty-five people were arrested following a violent clash between police and demonstrators at the Commonwealth Plywood plant in Ste. Therèse, Quebec. The plant has been the scene of a bitter labour dispute for over eight months when 100 employees walked off the job to support 180 co-workers who had been laid off for what the company termed economic reasons.

April 19: rcmp admit to break-INS

A statement by the RCMP was made at the MacDonald Commission which admitted to 400 illegal break-ins since 1970. A top RCMP official stated that raids without warrants are a necessary tool in criminal investigation.



May 15: ENGINEER GETS 2 YEARS OVER OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT VIOLATION

Dr. Peter Treu, a 56 year old Quebec engineer, was sentenced to two years in penitentiary for violating the Official Secrets Act. The case started when Treu began working as an independent communication consultant on a NATO surveillance system project. In December, 1973, the engineer's security clearance was removed without warning. Three months later, the RCMP raided his office and carted off 500 pounds of files and documents. Despite the raid, he continued to receive and work on NATO contracts — many of which were top secret. Yet, in March, 1976, Dr. Trau was charged with two violations of the Official Secrets Act for his possession of the seized material. The insuing trial was held entirely in secret.

May 25: SECRET TAX DATA GIVEN TO RCMP

The MacDonald Commission was told that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police used confidential income tax information to investigate everything from suspicious lifestyles to unemployment insurance cheats.

May 26: UNION LEADERS SENTENCED TO 90 DAYS

A former president of the Montreal transit maintenance union was sentenced to 90 days in jail for defying injunctions during an illegal strike in 1974. Three other union officials were sentenced to

60 days and the union and its members were fined more than \$120,000 in connection with the strike.

May 29: COPS TRADE PUNCHES WITH INJURED WORKERS

Seven people were charged with assaulting police during a battle between 300 injured workers who were demonstrating for higher compensation. The demonstrators came on canes, crutches and a few in leg or neck braces to voice their complaints at the office of the Ontario Ministry of Labour.

June 1: POLICE CONFISCATE NEWS FILM

Toronto police seized negatives and news film from a newspaper and television station of Monday's clash between police and injured workers. A police spokesman said they would need the film for the preparation of court cases against workers charged with assault.

June 7: RIOT POLICE ATTACK UNION DEMONSTRATORS

400 members of the Confederation of National Trade Unions were attacked by 30 to 40 riot police brandishing batons and tear gas in Ste. Therèse, Quebec. Eight union members were charged with assault following the clash.

June 22: THREE POLICEMEN GET YEAR'S TERM

Three Toronto policemen were sentenced to 12 months each for obstructing justice by helping a bookmaker avoid criminal conviction. They were released minutes later on \$10,000 bail to await an appeal.

July 6: RCMP GIVEN DATA FROM SOCIAL INSURANCE FILES

A royal commission looking into illegal activities of the RCMP revealed that the Mounties had been given access to more than 1,600 social insurance files in the last 4 years, often for unspecified reasons.

July 10: TRIAL TOLD OF TORTURE BY POLICE

Thomas Henderson, 23, a major witness at a royal commission hearing into Toronto police brutality, testified that on the morning of Feb. 9, 1974, he was taken to a Toronto police station and tortured. He claimed that after having been arrested in a drug raid on his apartment, two police officers beat him, applied a mechanic's claw to his face and penis, and later forced him to sign a statement. Henderson was eventually convicted of trafficking in LSD last year and was given a 60-day jail term and three years probation.

July 25: YOUTH DENIED PROBATION OFFICER — JUDGE SAYS THEY'RE TOO BUSY

Ted Bak, an 18 year old youth from Toronto, was sentenced to 12 months in a reformatory for attempting to steal wooden carvings. The youth's lawyer requested that he be placed on probation, but the judge rejected the suggestion, claiming they were too busy and it would be a waste of tax payers' money. The sentence was suspended for two years.

July 19: POLICE FORCED FAMILY TO KNEEL IN RAIN

A kitchener man testified that he and his family were forced by the local police to kneel in the pouring rain while their house was searched. The police, who were responding to a neighbour's report of a gun shot coming from the house, forced the family from their house at gun point and made them kneel against the wall with their hands over their heads. The gun shot report later proved to be false.

August 7: POLICE SHOOT LONE DRUNK

Hans Nattinen, a 66 year old Finnish immigrant, was shot by two Toronto policemen. The officers were responding to a call by the penniless alcoholic, who claimed to be holding hostages and wanted to kill a 'pig'. Armed with .223-calibre rifles, the two policemen forced open the door of the man's \$75-a month room and shot him twice in the chest. The gun, which Nattinen was apparently pointing at the time of the shooting, was later found to be unloaded.

August 9: BLACK YOUTH SHOT DEAD

Nova Scotia born, Andrew Wesley Evans residing in Ontario was shot dead by a policeman outside a Toronto discotheque. The shooting occurred after an altercation with police, at which time Evans and his brother resisted police arrest and returned to the disco. The police report claimed that "Evans was able to wrest the baton from Police Constable Clark's hand and struck him in the forehead. Constable Clark was stunned by the blow but saw Evans coming at him again with the baton raised. He then drew his revolver and fired." Patrons to the club rejected the police story, claiming that Clark was in a state of rage when he entered the disco and that Evans no longer had possession of the baton.

August 9: POLICEMAN LIED BUT JUDGE FINDS HIM NOT GUILTY

A former York regional police constable was found not guilty to charges of perjury, after having admitted lying to a judicial inquiry into police brutality. The inquiry was held in December, 1975, to determine whether two York constables had used excessive force on two juveniles they arrested the previous July. One of the boys claimed that while he was in the back seat of the officer's patrol car he was struck in the head. The officer denied the charge, claiming he had installed a screen between the front and the back seat before the alleged assault. It was discovered later that the screen had been installed after the beating.

August 14: EX-COP ALLEDGES THEFT, BRUTALITY IN FORCE

An ex-member of the York regional police force claimed that York police beat prisoners, stole merchandise from factories, accepted free food and golfing privileges and fixed traffic tickets. The police commission has promised to investigate the allegations.

August 22: POLICE BLAST 16 YEAR OLD BOY

A seven-hour hostage incident ended in death when a 16 year old boy was shot and killed by a police negotiator. The dead boy, Paul Reid, had been holding a knife to a 13 year old girl after he was trapped in a house by police. Reid, a veteran of Canadian penitentiaries and the product of a broken working class home, was shot through a window after being distracted by a telephone ring. The girl later admitted that Reid wasn't threatening her at the time of the shooting.

Recent Coercive Means of Pacification

Immediately after the events of the **Strike** controversy, a full-blown unpublicized investigation by the **RCMP** began and is still being carried out against **CEAC** and **Strike**.

In all advanced capitalist countries today we witness an increasing extension of the bureaucratically run, large-scale, repressive apparatus. In a time of economic crisis capitalism can no longer depend solely on ideological hegemony, however pervasively it permeates all aspects of everyday life, to keep the people at bay. Therefore, it has stepped up its authoritarian measures. However, in order to maintain its democratic guise it establishes the new-police-state under the fiction of national security, e.g. with the excuse of stopping "terrorism" the government under capital designs legislation which is then applied to all forms of opposition.

By creating hysterical reaction to "terrorism" the German government today has been able to introduce the "Berufsverbot" in which civil servants whose loyalty to the state is in question can be dismissed. Some 5000 teachers, lawyers, health workers, and other civil servants have lost their jobs or did not qualify because of their political beliefs, the vast majority of which leaned to the left. The German government also introduced "Paragraph 88a" which states that anyone who produces, distributes or subscribes to (e.g.) printed matter that openly displays or recommends unlawful acts such as those against the state, is punishable with a sentence of up to 3 years. Again the target has been the left with bookshops and publications being repressed. In Canada, we already have the example of the countless exposed illegal activities of the **RCMP**, which the government then promptly attempts to make legal with new legislation, and the press dubs as "wrongdoings" instead of "crimes".

Neither **Strike** nor **CEAC** have committed any illegal acts, yet an investigation is taking place. Information from such an investigation can be used to provide the guidelines for the formulation of new laws which, like those in Germany, are designed to give greater power to the instruments of authority against radical groups and to an ever-increasing extent against all forms of opposition. Therefore we publish some of the questions and statements made by the authorities in carrying out their investigation on us, so that the reader can decide for him or herself.

"When the issue came out and all the controversy arose, I was concerned as to what kind of a representation **CEAC** was doing as a result of the publicity. We went to meetings with those of the group and the art councils. I would like to take a look at their organization."

"Are you connected with **CEAC**? Do you know the people in the organization? Good, then that's all I'm interested in."

"I want to talk to as many people who whether directly involved or on the periphery or have any connection whatsoever. I'm really naive. All I can do is to talk to as many people as I can to get as objective an idea as possible. Doesn't that make sense to you?"

"What do you do? Are you presently employed in a standard occupation working for a particular firm or an organization?"

"How long have you been connected or had dealings with **CEAC**? What did you want from **CEAC**? Why did you seek them out? What type of work did you do for them? Did you ever get involved in their own internal politics as to the decision making that went on in producing things like **ACE** or **Strike**?"

"Who was connected to **CEAC**? Who was part of **CEAC**? Who wrote the editorial? What are your opinions of the individuals that you mentioned?"

"Do you see yourself as an activist? What kind of work do you do? Would you consider yourself as a liberal or a conservative? Do you have any writings of your own that I could read? We're

not being nosey."

"What's your impression of the **RCMP** doing this investigation? Do you feel that we should be doing this kind of investigation?"

"When **Strike** published the issue that caused the controversy did you know about the editorial? What was your reaction when it came out?"

"What about the reactions of those who were outside?"

"I've read some articles that come out saying that the art councils should provide grants to art councils as distinct from political organizations. That the artist should not take a political stand. Do you see a distinct difference? How would you interpret what they said? How would you describe the avant-garde in Canada?"

"The editorial came out with a lot of publicity and lost a lot of grants. What about similar organizations in the city? Are they suddenly now fearful of their own positions?"

"Have numerous editorials similar to that one by other organizations just gone unnoticed? What about other artists? Have you noticed any change? How popular was **CEAC** amongst the community? Was it something that many artists looked towards? Did they appreciate the resistance of **CEAC**?"

"I'm learning something also about art councils. I would assume that they would have been very knowledgeable about the area and would have done investigations into the particular organizations requesting the grants. Maybe the people of the art councils are really not as aware or as knowledgeable as they should be. I don't know whose fault it is. Maybe there is something wrong with the whole system that sets up councils to look at other artists."

"I believe art to be art period. I didn't realize there was as much politics involved in art as this."

"This came out, the editorial reads such and such, it's my job to follow up this type of investigation. How would you as an artist convince me that there is no threat involved?"

"Terrorism being the big thing today in the world, we have to investigate all and everything that concerns it. I was assigned to do it. It's very simple."

"Even if that article had not been turned by the **Sun**, we would have investigated it anyway. It would have been irrelevant whether or not any of this publicity had come. In fact, probably our job would have been that much easier. We would have just done our job and wouldn't bother anybody. My position is that of collecting information and being able to assess that intelligence and then make a recommendation."

"Now I am in a position of having to investigate that organization and I have to look at the people and determine whether or not there is something more behind. If I get conflicting opinions then there is more to it. Then we end up with a very interesting situation. Maybe they do in their own way believe in and support many of the things that are going on. If I talk to the **Sun** they say that they're going to be a national threat."

"What about political backgrounds? What are the political beliefs? Are they in support of this system that we operate here or are they in support of some other system? Which there is nothing wrong in. But if you know somebody's background it helps you to assess some of their writings. If you look at the political ideologies of some groups a lot of them want change through violence. You can't condone violence in certain circumstances in some countries."

"Politically I don't know these people. I don't know what their leanings are. Eventually I'm going to find out. Maybe others, individuals who have spoken at **CEAC**, who have come in or just lectured there, some of them have, say, communist backgrounds, some of them have Marxist backgrounds. Whatever background, these are things we're interested in. There is a whole lot more in the picture than that one editorial. So only through talking to yourself and others are we going to try to gather as much information as we possibly can."

When the **RCMP** officers were asked if their report would be available they answered: "No, it probably will be stamped **SECRET**."



SNUFF

INTRODUCTION

Our intentions are to provide a description of recent events surrounding the controversy over our issue of *Strike* vol. 2 no. 2, then an analysis of the meaning of these events, and finally the steps that we see as necessary in our future actions in light of these events. Foremost, what we wish to make clear is that what has happened to *Strike* and CEAC (Center for Experimental Art and Communication) is a definite case of censorship, in fact, political repression. Throughout this article, we also wish to emphasize that our project was conceived of as a social experiment, designed to expose the illusions of freedom within the arts and the greater context of liberal democracies. We analyzed liberal democracies as the hypocrisy of capitalism, and thought provocation expected a response that would give an indication of their true nature — and this they did provide. But however correct our experiment proved our analysis of liberal democracies to be, we did not anticipate the extremity of their reaction. Therefore, we finally conclude as only we can: though we made some strong statements, it was with a critical attitude open to all alternatives and even conflicting viewpoints, but now pushed as we are to this brink at which all our alternatives have been deliberately cut off, we can no longer afford the luxury of divergent views and toying with “possibilities”, but must coalesce toward a more unified goal and clearer intentions. If only words and images caused the reaction that they did, then little is required as a lever of provocation to force liberal democracies to show their true face. Then, by their reaction, they may bring about a situation that must lead to their own downfall and the establishment of a more consciously democratic and humanely responsive system. As we prove with this present issue of *Strike*, we have not been stopped. Instead, our theory has been substantiated by the events of the practice that ensued. This in turn informs our present theory and the further practice that must be manifested from it.

O.P.P. weapons practice



Little Red Riding Hood

DESCRIPTION OF CEAC (CEAC'S RELATION TO STRIKE)

The KAA (Kensington Art Association) was the parent body to several independent organizations. These organizations, which have come and gone or survived and succeeded, were only responsible to themselves, had varying concerns and purposes, and were made up of different groups of people with divergent interests. Its major and central effort was the CEAC, but it also spawned and encouraged other independent groups such as: the *Funnel*, which housed screening facilities and other related needs as a gathering place for experimental filmmakers in Toronto; *Crash and Burn*, which provided performance space for punk rock groups at a time when none other was available to them in Toronto; *Supervision* publications, which published records, artist's books and the magazine *Art Communication Edition* which later became *Strike*.

The CEAC had over the years gained a considerable international reputation as the promoter of international tours of Canadian performance art. It played a unique role in directing major theoretical investigations of art issues and new art through the introduction to Canada of Contextual Art, Behaviour Art, Body Art, Language Art, Dissident Art. Its education programs stretched to all culturally related areas such as sociology, philosophy, education, and from which some of the world's most prominent people in their respective fields participated. The CEAC has provided facilities for hundreds of artists, and had one of the finest art archives in Canada, and certainly the most sophisticated video production set up in the “parallel” network in Canada. All this development has not been matched by any other organization of similar size in Canada, and in many instances has surpassed that of much larger institutions such as the public galleries, universities, etc.

Her Panties were also red

PAST GENERAL POLICIES OF STRIKE

What *Strike* represented was made quite clear in our editorial policy of the issue of *Strike* vol. 2 no. 2: “*Strike* disseminates a critical practice based upon the new ideology. The directing group is allied to the revolutionary cause that intends to create cultural polemics, debates, confrontations and the pursuit of collective education for a new community eliminating labour.”

We consider that there were other times and places for the consolidation of our ideas and actions, but the magazine was the place for learning, change and open presentation of all ideas, unbiased by the radicality of their perspective. Therefore, it presented a variety of views, sometimes even contradictory and did not espouse any one single view. Our magazine opposed all dogma, but in the eyes of the government and the media the crime it committed was to criticize and oppose the dogma of capitalism as much as any other system's. Our tools were not guns but: radical analysis at the level of general theory; criticism at the level of specific polemics; and the use of a strong visual and verbal imagery drawn from reality, as a means of bringing about a confrontation with a factuality many ignore, and as an aid in provoking debate.

Fingers in the right place

INTENTIONS OF STRIKE VOL. 2 NO. 2

In the issue of *Strike* in question, our main thrust at the level of radical analysis, was our conclusion that liberal democracies are essentially repressive systems. Liberal democracies are no less repressive than authoritarian communist systems, in fact, if

we take the continual historical necessity of social change as an index, it would appear that liberal democracies are more successfully repressive. The repression is there, but not so easily recognized because it is of a different sort. It is more covert: by the use of a pervasive ideology that seems natural and so is hidden, by supporting coercive regimes for its own benefit instead of directly practicing coercion on its own people, by allowing a token freedom in order to hide the fact that it does not allow the questioning of the system itself, by the fact that it defines bourgeois freedom as a universal freedom, etc. The logic of liberalism is relativism and leads to the rule of power; the economics of liberalism is laissez-faire, the political counterpart of which is imperialism. Conscious social responsibility, i.e. direct equality and participation by all, is anathema to capitalism which labels it as “insidious communism.”

Our conclusions on liberal democracies were coupled with an analysis of art, being our particular context at the time, as reflective of and contributing to the repression of liberal democracies. Coming under the domain of ideology, art serves either a legitimating or an ameliorating function in capitalism: as an important ideological tool to perpetuate the myth of the universal quality of bourgeois values, or as a symbol of the token freedom of liberal democracies. As artists, we presented our radical critique of art in an effort to go beyond the confines of art's internal formalist concerns and token freedom as analyzed within that critique. As individuals, we presented our radical critique of liberal democracies to contribute to the world struggle against oppression which in our context is capitalism.

Our intention, working from the insular art context, was to provoke debate and elicit reaction from outside of the art world, and even beyond the broader sphere of nevertheless specialized interests. As well as work at the level of radical analysis, we therefore also incorporated specific polemics that rooted our general analysis in familiar and local situations, and a powerful imagery whose impact depended on the urgency of the reality it was derived from. Radical analysis coupled with provocation proved to be very successful as a means of creating debate on the issues of our analysis within a wider audience, and as a social experiment to prod liberal democracies to reveal their true nature as concluded in our analysis.

Liberal Grannie needs repair

ACCOUNT OF MEDIA AND GOVERNMENT REACTION

How exactly did some of the integral elements of the structure of our “free system” react? A Toronto tabloid called the *Sun* had obtained, without our knowledge, copies of *Strike* vol. 2 no. 2 before it had been released. The *Sun* saw a good chance for a scandal story by claiming that government grants went out to would-be terrorists. This manufactured story was valuable to the *Sun* because it hit three sensitive items that were major news concerns at the time: (1) terrorism at a time when, because of Moro's kidnapping, feelings on the subject were strong, (2) criticism of the Liberals at the federal level and Conservatives at the provincial level who, as the governments in power at a time of recession, were favourite targets as bunglers and mismanagers, (3) the questioning of taxpayers dollars for marginal projects at a time when little money was available. Therefore, on Friday, May 5, 1978 the Toronto *Sun* headlines read: “Ont. Grant Supports Red Brigades Ideology — Our Taxes Aid Blood-Thirsty Radicals”. Then the other newspapers, television stations and radio stations picked up the story, and for the next three weeks there appeared at least one or more reports or editorials on *Strike*.

Inevitably the government got involved. In the provincial parliament the opposition harangued the government on its ineptitude at doling out cultural grants; the press swamped the bewildered minister responsible for cultural affairs with questions,

though he had never heard of **Strike**. At the federal level the prime minister was questioned on the issue, and finally, at the municipal level city council began its debates on funding for **CEAC**.

In very few cases did we experience a rational response from the media or the government, which both took extremely reactionary stands, based partially on blind panic and partially on deliberate incitement of hysteria. Instead of taking an open and critical response to our work, they created a climate of fear, in which any attempt at discussion of such issues as we raised in our magazine were considered treasonous. No attempt was made by the media or the government to actually find out what we stood for and were saying in our magazine, besides what they could use as sensationalism. It became apparent that neither of these powers would listen to what we had to say, but only distort it to use to their own ends. Their distortion was a compound of: misinformation based on second hand sources (e.g. **CBC**'s report that **Strike** magazine was an Italian language newspaper), outright lies (e.g. the **Sun** reporting that **Strike** received \$70,000 in grants last year), and finally manipulated distortion, the basic mechanism of which was to focus on a small part of our work while ignoring the greater bulk of it and the context it arose from.

And she knew that the wolf was a fascist

ANALYSIS OF MEDIA AND GOVERNMENT REACTION

Apart from the normally reactionary nature of Canada's media and government, why did they act the way they did over the particular issue of **Strike**? The media is made up of enterprises which, like all functions in capitalism, are a slave to its principle — the accumulation of capital. Therefore, under the suitable ideological cover of "the search for truth and factuality," the media's single aim is profit. It can only make this by selling, and so the need to sell dictates the content of its product. Only stories which are sensational in themselves, or aspects of which can be distorted into sensational stories, are of interest to the media. The real social and political issues, that we raised in our magazine and at press conferences, and that are far more important than anything that may happen to **Strike**, were simply ignored by the media, as they are daily unless they break out into some dramatic event.

In the government of a liberal democracy the illusion of conflicting interests must be continually maintained, so that it is never apparent that really only one class with one interest rules. Therefore, parliament has an "Official opposition," and with the party in power they play the game of representing the people and keeping power in check. The **Strike** scandal, started by the press, was just more political bait to be used in this game, especially since the government was already an element in this issue.

But these are only minor purposes of the media and the government when compared to their common function as repressive forces, in fact, their actions regarding **Strike** stand as a good example of the covert form of repression in liberal democracies. The media and the government have an incredible power, not only in the number of people they can reach, but also in the authority that they have over many, who see them not as forces with vested interests, but as neutral functions stating "objective truth" or "working for the good of all." They then are opponents so formidable that they can suppress individuals or small groups with nobody noticing how they did so.

As outlined earlier, our magazine presented radical analysis of art and liberal democracies coupled with a provocative visual and verbal imagery. Yet despite the fact that our analysis was by far the greater bulk of our work, the media and the government both focussed only on our imagery. The imagery that we used was not as extreme as is often found in the arts or entertainment (e.g. many of the Vienna School images in art, punk rock's often vivid postures of violence, or the pornographic violence that is relentlessly presented everyday in people's homes on television). Yet such cases rarely raise eyebrows, while action against us was quick and decisive. Why? Partly because our imagery was drawn from reality, but primarily

because it was coupled with a radical analysis of liberal democracies, and it was this analysis that the media and the government, the pillars of liberal democracies, feared. We were no longer artists provoking safely within the confines of art. We dared to go beyond art, to reject art's token freedom and enter into a critical practice that questioned the system itself. However, their means to suppress us was to ignore our analysis and focus on the imagery taking it as reality. In this way they completely distorted what we stood for, and armed with this distortion, they took up, and in some cases incited, hysterical reaction.

In so attempting to create hysteria, the media and the government practiced an indirect form of censorship hoping to close all views to our actual position. In this same manner, they prepared the way for direct censorship, as was later carried out by the appropriate division of the state bureaucracy, which was the art councils. As far as the government was concerned, it was very easy for them to put an end to our activities, for they had only to cut off our funding. But in order to maintain the illusion of freedom in a liberal democracy and



香港九龍區議會 (油蔴地) 上海第十一印書廠 石印人 黃維二 攝

the illusion of the independence of the state bureaucracy from political power, they could not suppress us so directly. Instead, by distorting what we were, they sought to justify their suppression by making us appear as "enemies of freedom and democracy who must be stopped at all costs." Otherwise, the government action would be seen for what it really was: an undemocratic move to silence criticism. Finally, their strategy in creating hysteria was meant to serve the purpose of deflecting from the greater context of repression in liberal democracies that we pointed to, and instead rally people around their cause disguised in illusions of bourgeois ideology of justice, freedom, etc., and thereby generally discouraging any effective criticism.

And she said "My, what big teeth you have"

ACCOUNT OF ART COUNCILS REACTION

At this point, a third force of liberal democracies enters into the picture: the state bureaucracy in the form of one of its countless parts: the art councils, designated to bestow favours on artists as representative of art's modern patron: state capitalism. Despite the fact that the **OAC** (Ontario Arts Council) had promised **CEAC** on five different occasions before the controversy concerning **Strike** broke out that **CEAC** would receive its grant; once the first headline about **Strike** was printed the **OAC** executive deferred and called a meeting with **CEAC**, which was also attended by some members of

Strike.² At that meeting it became clear that, in a unilateral action, the executive overrode the decision of the council to give **CEAC** its grant.³

A month later the inevitable news came that the **OAC** had decided to cut off any further funds for **CEAC**. Unofficially they were told that all people involved with **Strike** would be blacklisted for all future time.⁴ After the **OAC** decision, the other funding bodies quickly followed suit. The Toronto city council decided not to provide a small grant to **CEAC**. The **CC** (Canada Council) had also before the **Strike** controversy sent **CEAC** a letter saying that it would receive its grant, but then held back when the controversy broke out, and waited in the wings for the result of the **OAC**'s performance. As soon as the **OAC**'s decision was known, the **CC** contrived to deny **CEAC** its grant by demanding in a letter that **CEAC** fulfill a number of stipulations first before it could receive any further funding.

Obscenity, it seems, is better than left wing politics

ANALYSIS OF ART COUNCILS REACTION

The art council's cutting off of funds to **CEAC** and **Strike** shows an inconsistent logic when we consider its support of certain other particular groups and individuals. For example, the sculptor Mark Prent was actually judged as having contravened the law for obscenity and was fined, yet he continued to receive grants. On the other hand, both **CEAC** and **Strike**, neither of which broke any obscenity law or any other law, were cut off from grants and blacklisted from ever receiving any again. **Le Devoir** published the same article on Uruguayan torture as **Strike** did, but as a much larger institution than either **CEAC** or **Strike**, it received none of the pressure that **Strike** did for having printed the story. Many of the **CC**'s criticisms of **CEAC** in its letter to **CEAC** were similar to its criticisms of **A Space**, another "alternative gallery" in Toronto. Yet the **CC** used these criticisms as an excuse to cut off all further funding. It becomes clear that the art councils were intent on, or a tool for, suppression of a cultural organization for its political beliefs. Even obscenity, it seems, is better than left-wing politics.

When we examine the internal logic of the art councils' decision, still little sense can be found. A government body that only has the power to make cultural decisions in regards to funding, cut off an acknowledged art institution for a particular activity that the government body claims is not art but politics, and which it therefore should have no rightful say over.

That action was taken against **Strike** for its political views, and that it should be cut off because of a distorted version of what it stood for, is repressive, but that **CEAC** should be punished for the same reasons is further injustice. **CEAC** was quite independent of **Strike**, and a much larger and well-established cultural institution with many more concerns, many different from **Strike**'s. Although some of the members of **CEAC** were involved with **Strike**, **CEAC** included many more people who were not, but suffered as innocent parties because of the councils' decision.

The judgement that the art councils made on **CEAC** and **Strike** shows that such councils in a capitalist society, as a superstructure of a capitalist dominated economy, have to act in such a way as to ensure an uncritical and overtly uninvolved political practice in the arts. The **OAC** executive admitted to **CEAC** their inability to accept the political nature of art, overt or not. Actually, no art escapes the class struggle; it may not even have overtly political content, but it still serves a political purpose as a tool of pervasive ideology, conveying bourgeois values. But to the art councils only a seemingly neutral art form is acceptable. This is because only such an art fits in with the ideology necessary to the superstructure of the capitalist social formation, and seems neutral in the bourgeois context because it is committed to bourgeois ideology.

On the other hand, the government through manipulation of the art councils, suppressed cultural expression. Apart from the devious manner in which the government acted by pressuring the art councils rather than acting themselves, their repression is no different than that so often pointed to in the East.

Buggery and battery in Grannie's bed

RESULTS OF STRIKE'S SOCIAL EXPERIMENT

Through **Strike's** social experiment of radical analysis and provocation, the powers of liberal democracies were forced to contradict their own principles, revealing them to be the illusions of a false ideology. Through direct censorship our liberal democracy contradicted itself when it acted against individuals for their political beliefs through an economic sanction that intended their effective immobilization. It contradicted itself when a cultural body suppressed individuals for their political beliefs, while the political establishment suppressed their cultural expression. It contradicted itself when a cultural body which is supposed to be autonomous from political interests, is dictated to by the political establishment. It contradicted itself when it based such repressive actions on distortion, or used such distortion as a form of indirect censorship.

Yet none of this is surprising for the principles of liberal democracies are illusions which are dispensed with when their pretense is no longer as important as the survival of capitalism itself. Canada is particularly casual about maintaining these illusions: it has one of the largest police forces per capita in the world, in the past it has declared martial law, it was the first to recognize Chile's junta, its secrecy acts hold back more information from its public than any other Western country, etc.

If the principles of liberal democracies were not illusions but real, then they would not be forced to take such measures and so contradict those principles. Media, government and the state bureaucracy have acted in a manner ironically predicted in the very issue of **Strike** that became the center of such actions.

The day the Woodsman split open the Wolf's guts

NEW GENERAL POLICIES OF STRIKE

Strike has provoked state capitalism, to reveal its true nature, as tolerating questioning within the system but suppressing any questioning of itself, and providing token means of reform but no legitimate mechanism for change to other systems when the present one loses its functionality as capitalism has. But in this process **Strike**, by being suppressed itself, has been shoved into a corner. Now not only is it clear that there are no legitimate means to effective change, but **Strike** has been denied any means of legitimate change if such a possibility has ever existed. No alternatives are left when what is allowed to be expressed and the means to expressing it are censored and suppressed. We rejected the false alternatives of a token freedom in art, and tried to begin a practice that would search out real alternatives in reality, but we only met with repression. Another theory was substantiated by practice: in our society there can be no alternatives; only anti-thesis.

Art councils will fund activities that present harmless art, or any other innocuous and perhaps even pseudo-controversial material, but not what is a critical practice, especially if opposed to the system itself. Yet is not this critical practice, and the social change it would lead to, the most urgent need in our world? And is not this critical practice a principle of democracy that should be supported, even if it leads to other systems, if they alone are capable of what the old system is not? And if this principle is the lie of systems that claim to be democratic, as has now been made obvious, then are we not justified to make it and the new social change it demands, a reality, if even by means that the present social system opposes?

In the present social structure we have no choice. There are only a limited number of possibilities provided — each essentially the same. In capitalism all possibilities for survival can be reduced to two: sell or beg. Some accept this choice as the only natural

possibilities. We, however, see it as relations of a system that is only one of many possible modes of production, and therefore limits which can be overcome. Because we did not choose the few options provided and because we see that they are not natural limits, we consider the choices forced upon us. Because we are not responsible for the choice, we are not responsible to it, and refuse to settle for any of the few options that it provides. Yet if one does not like this situation, one cannot leave it. The only possibility is to change it.

The cutting off of government funds has had two positive effects: It has forced us to operate on our own resources, and we are no longer answerable to government or art councils.

In relation to the internal concerns of formalist art, we understood that, just like changing content alone, so changing form, or even analyzing art generally from within art, is insufficient. Art had to be questioned in its socio-political context. This we saw as the "negative function" or critical practice, that is all that art in a pre-revolutionary situation could be. As a result we recognized that art is an ideological moment. Because of the pervasiveness of ideology, the transformation of the artist to activist was understood as problematic. But general theorizing was not enough, at least it could be directed to local/specific situations. In dealing with pervasive ideology, it was hoped that art could be a battle ground for the dispersal of imaginary relations that had disarmed the material struggle.

The problems that were first revealed by putting art into its socio-political context, are real and still far from resolved. But they are not simply the problems of art, and to continue to frame them so narrowly is useless. Therefore, we reject art as a central activity, but only to continue to deal with these problems, and others, formulated in the more important general framework of social and political categories. For example, the need for a critical-reflexive practice in art and the self-transformation of the artist, is now seen as the general problem of dealing with ideological and class embeddedness. Ideology is no longer seen as separate from material conditions, and therefore the problem of the artist's transition, is framed as the problem of the individual's transition through the transformation of pervasive ideology coupled with material struggle. The problem of the token freedom of art, is now defined in terms of the token freedom of liberal democracies, etc.

It is said that if art is corrupted by capitalism, then so is everything else, so why should art be rejected. However, in that case, let us admit then that art is only a means of material survival within capitalism, and not pretend that it can be anything else. In a pre-revolutionary situation there is no hope in any art practice itself, even as a critical practice, because all art is ideologically bound. It cannot be an extra-philosophical or scientific enterprise that has the special qualities for revealing ideologies, nor can certain forms be found that are free from the dominant ideology, nor can art be magically liberating force (cf. Rosellini's: "Art can free men from their conditions."). This is where we part company even with Marxist artists or philosophers of art, who give a special status to art, seeing it generally as neutral and only certain practices within it as ideologically bound. This is a major step: the final break from idealism that the "bourgeois Marxists" do not achieve. Therefore, the only valid purposes for art in a pre-revolutionary situation are: as a front which, by its potential for ambiguity, is an easy means of obtaining government and corporate funds to put towards the revolutionary cause; or as a direct tool for explicit communication and provocation in the class struggle. Any artists, no matter how "revolutionary", who claim more for art, are simply justifying the continuance of their bourgeois careers, and would place art first when the crunch comes.

We have actually achieved eliciting a response from outside of art and from the most powerful sectors of society — the very groups that we must effect reaction from in order to begin to achieve change. We have now entered the arena of real-life confrontations out of the fantasy world of art. We have provoked and faced real opponents, not just the cardboard adversaries of the art world. We now know that we need not be limited to an ineffectual critical practice foolishly shouting at the feet of the giants of power who do not even see us. We must continue in a practice that directs itself to revealing the hypocrisies of our social order and force the powers to show their true face.

The suppression of what were only pictures and words was quick and severe. Even in a discursive context, the issues that we raised were not allowed. By its own basis in illusions, the system is weak and can easily be prodded to undermine itself. What will serve as our lever of provocation? It is the depth and strength of our critical practice which must make real blows. With such a lever of provocation there can be no doubts about the correctness of our position, and whatever action the power sectors take, their hypocrisy will be made that much more blatant.

Our critical work aims towards Brecht's "dialectical transformation of the totality of subjects into a permanent crisis, and hence the conception of our age as a critical period in both meanings of the term." But this is no "critical theory" in isolation, but "provocation through disorder. Insult. New provocation. New insult. Until their downfall!"

NOTES

1. "New ideology" is explained at length in that issue, but in short, it meant to account for and reject the pervasive ideology that is the same for capitalism and authoritarian communism, and participate in the struggle to establish a new ideology outside of the old alternatives. What we meant by "eliminating labour" is best explained by these quotes from Marx: "The realm of freedom begins indeed only when labour that is determined by external need and expediency ceases to be." (*The German Ideology*) "The mode of activity always remained unchallenged and it was only a question of a different distribution of labour to other persons. But the revolution would have to be directed against the preceding mode of activity itself, do away with labour and abolish the rule of all classes together with the classes themselves." (*Capital*) "Work is essentially the unfree, inhuman, unsocial activity, determined by private property. The abolition of private property becomes a reality only when it is understood as the abolition of work." (*Ueber Friedrich Lists Buch Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*), *Archive-Drucke* 1, Berlin 1972, S. 25, quoted in *Zerowork*

2. According to the **OAC** executive, the meeting had been called to "find out what **CEAC** was all about and what its relation was to statements in **Strike**". It thereby proved to be more of an inquisition than a meeting (though we were interrogated for political beliefs rather than religious ones), but neither **CEAC** or **Strike** allowed themselves to be bullied by bureaucrats. The executive blatantly lied, saying the **OAC** had never promised **CEAC** anything, but only requested this meeting. As if to say that there was no deferment brought on by the executive's ignorant dependence on slander from a tabloid like the *Sun*, or pressure from political interests, but because they had not yet assessed **CEAC's** qualification on the standard criteria for an art grant. However, they could not long deny that they were taking extraordinary measures, because **CEAC** had provided the **OAC** with all the information necessary in their application to normally meet the **OAC's** needs for appraisal. The **OAC** executive went so far as to admit their own incompetence at evaluating the work of **CEAC**, but could not see their then present action as prejudiced action against **CEAC**, founded on the distortions of the press rather than their own knowledge that they as an art council should have.

3. After a zealous display of antagonism against **CEAC** by the **OAC** executive, we were told by the end of the meeting that the meeting's purpose was to find out more about **CEAC** in order to represent it to the council, which would make (another) decision on **CEAC's** application for a grant! **CEAC** protested. Why could it not represent itself? Why, in fact, could not that very meeting have been before the council? Despite the clearly undemocratic move by the executive, it refused to let **CEAC** speak for itself. **CEAC** then demanded to at least know how they would be represented, but the executive denied them even this. The executive at this point called the meeting to a close. It could say no more — like all good liberals they acknowledged the injustice, but saw no contradiction in following procedures that they "were not responsible for". The **OAC's** representation of **CEAC** was only a reflection of the same farce that the Canadian system of government representation is.

4. To date several people connected not just to **Strike** but also to **CEAC**, have been denied grants or jobs expressly because of their association with these organizations.

ON THE REVOLUTION OF PEKING OPERA

Chiang Ching

Peking opera on revolutionary contemporary themes has now been staged. But do we all look at it the same way? I don't think we can say so just yet.

We must have unshakable confidence in the staging of Peking opera on revolutionary contemporary themes. It is inconceivable that, in our socialist country led by the Communist Party, the dominant position on the stage is not occupied by the workers, peasants and soldiers, who are the real creators of history and the true masters of our country. **We should create literature and art which protect our socialist economic base.** When we are not clear about our orientation, we should try our best to become so. Here I would like to give two groups of figures for your reference. These figures strike me as shocking.

Here is the first group: according to a rough estimate, there are 3,000 theatrical companies in the country (not including amateur troupes and unlicensed companies). Of these, around 9% are professional modern drama companies, 80 odd are cultural troupes, and the rest, over 2,800, are companies staging various kinds of operas and balladry. Our operatic stage is occupied by emperors, princes, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties, and, on top of these, ghosts and monsters. As for those 90 modern drama companies, they don't necessarily all depict the workers, peasants and soldiers either. They, too, lay stress on staging full-length plays, foreign plays and plays on ancient themes. So we can say that the modern drama stage is also occupied by ancient Chinese and foreign figures. **Theatres are places in which to educate the people, but at present the stage is dominated by emperors, princes, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties — by feudal and bourgeois stuff. This state of affairs cannot serve to protect but will undermine our economic base.**

And here is the second group of figures: there are well over 600 million workers, peasants and soldiers in our country, whereas there is only a handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists and bourgeois elements. Shall we serve this handful, or the 600 million? This question calls for consideration not only by Communists but also by all those literary and art workers who love their country. The grain we eat is grown by the peasants, the clothes we wear and the houses we live in are all made by the workers, and the People's Liberation Army stands guard at the fronts of national defence for us and yet we do not portray them on the stage. **May I ask which class stand you artists do take? And where is the artists' "conscience" you always talk about?**

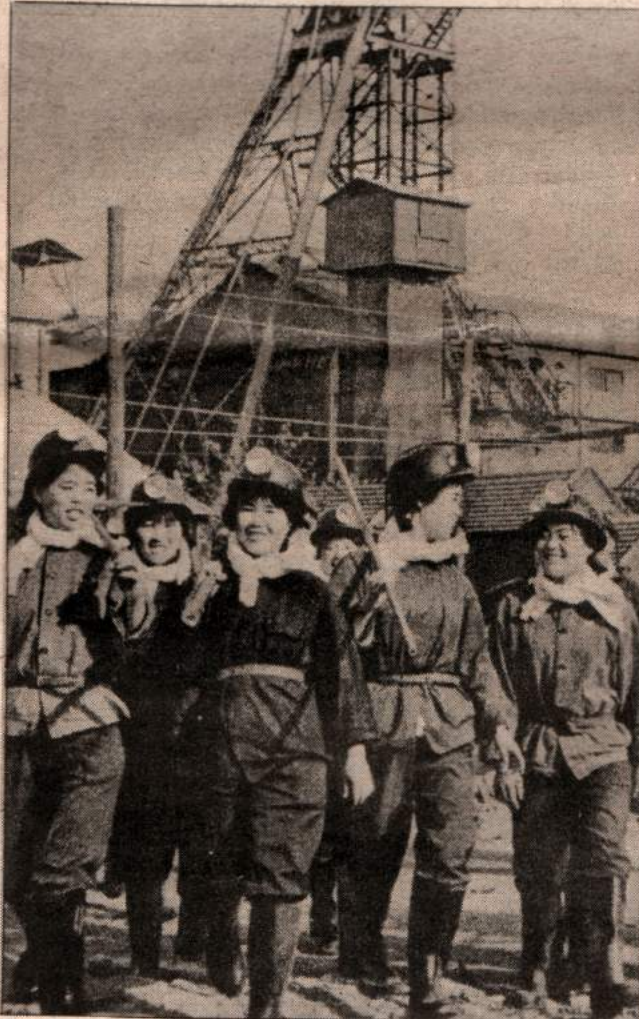
For Peking opera to present revolutionary contemporary themes will not be all plain sailing. There will be reverses, but if you consider carefully the two groups of figures I have mentioned above, there may be no reverses, or at least fewer of them. Even if there are reverses, it won't matter. History always goes forward on a zigzag course but its wheels can never be turned backwards. We stress operas on revolutionary contemporary themes which reflect real life in the fifteen years since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic and which create images of contemporary revolutionary heroes on our operatic stage. This is our foremost task. Not that we don't want historical operas. Revolutionary historical operas have formed no small proportion of the programme of the present festival. Historical operas portraying the life and struggles of the people before our Party came into being are also needed. Moreover, we need to foster some pace-setters, to produce some historical operas which are really written from the standpoint of historical materialism and which can make the past serve the present. Of course, we should take up historical operas only on the condition that the carrying out of the main task (that of portraying contemporary life and creating images of workers, peasants and soldiers) is not impeded. Except for those about

ghosts and those extolling capitulation and betrayal, all good traditional operas can be staged. But these traditional operas will have no audience worth mentioning unless they are carefully re-edited and revised. I have made systematic visits to theatres for more than two years and my observation of both actors and audiences led me to this conclusion. In future, the re-editing and revising of traditional operas is necessary, but this work must not replace our foremost task.

I will next discuss the question of where to make a start.

I think the key question is that you must have the plays. If you have only directors and actors and no plays there is nothing to be directed or acted. People say that plays form the basis of theatrical productions. I think that is quite true. Therefore attention must be devoted to creative writing.

In the last few years the writing of new plays has lagged far behind real life. This is even more true in the case of Peking opera. Playwrights are few



and they lack experience of life, so it is only natural that no good plays are being created. The key to tackling the problem of creative writing is the formation of a three-way combination of the leadership, the playwrights and the masses. Recently, I studied the way in which the play *Great Wall Along the Southern Sea* was created and I found that they did it exactly like this. First the leadership set the theme. Then the playwrights went three times to acquire experience of life, even taking part in a military operation to round up enemy spies. When the play was written, many leading members of the Kwangchow military command took part in discussions on it, and after it had been rehearsed, opinions were widely canvassed and revisions made. In this way, as a result of constantly asking for opinions and constantly making revisions they succeeded in turning out in a fairly short time a good topical play reflecting a real life struggle.

In the case of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee it was Comrade Ko Ching-shih himself who came to grips with the problem of creative writing.

All localities must appoint competent cadres to handle this problem.

It will be difficult for some time yet to write plays specially for Peking opera. Nevertheless, people have to be appointed right now to do the job. They must first be given some special training and then go out to attain experience of life. They can begin by writing short plays and gradually work out full-length operas. It is also good to have short works, if well written.

In creative writing, new forces must be cultivated. Send them to work at the grass roots level and in three to five years they will blossom and bear fruit.

Another good way to get plays is by adaptation.

Theatrical items for adaptation must be carefully chosen. First, we must see whether or not they are good politically and secondly, whether or not they suit the conditions of the company concerned. Serious analysis of the original must be made when adapting it, its good points must be affirmed and kept intact, while its weak points must be remedied. In adapting for Peking opera attention must be paid to two aspects: on the one hand, the adaptations must be in keeping with the characteristics of Peking opera, having singing and acrobatics, and words must fit the melodies in Peking opera singing. The language used must be that of Peking opera. Otherwise the performers will not be able to sing. On the other hand, excessive compromises should not be made with the performers. An opera must have a clear-cut theme with a tightly knit structure and striking characters. In no case should the whole opera be allowed to become diffuse and flat in order to provide a few principal performers with star parts.

Peking opera uses artistic exaggeration. At the same time, it has always depicted ancient times and people belonging to those times. Therefore, it is comparatively easy for Peking opera to portray negative characters and this is what some people like about it so much. On the other hand, it is very difficult to create positive characters, and yet we must build up characters of advanced revolutionary heroes. In the original version of the opera *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* produced by Shanghai the negative characters appeared to be overpowering, while the positive characters looked quite wizened. Since the leadership gave direct guidance, this opera has been positively improved. Now, the scene about the Taoist Ting Ho has been cut, whereas the part of Eagle — nickname of the bandit leader — has been only slightly altered (the actor who plays the part acts very well). But since the roles of the People's Liberation Army men Yang Tzu-jung and Shao Chien-po have been made more prominent, the images of those negative characters have paled by comparison. It has been said that there are different views on this opera. **Debates can be held on this subject. You must consider which side you stand on.** Should you stand on the side of the positive characters or on the side of the negative characters? It has been said that there are still people who oppose writing about positive characters. This is wrong. Good people are always the great majority. This is true not only in our socialist countries, but even in imperialist countries, where the overwhelming majority are labouring people. In revisionist countries, the revisionists are only a minority. We should place the emphasis on creating artistic images of advanced revolutionaries so as to educate and inspire the people and lead them forward. Our purpose in producing operas on revolutionary contemporary themes is mainly to exalt the positive characters.

In my opinion, we should treasure the fruits of our labour, and should not scrap them lightly. Some comrades are unwilling to revise works they have done, but this prevents them from making bigger achievements.

ON THE REVOLUTION OF PEKING OPERA



AT LAST, YOU HAVE A CHOICE!

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